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THE
AMERICAN MONITOR,

A MONTHLY

Political, Historical, and Commercial

MAGAZINE,

PARTICULARLY DEVOTED TO THE

AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

Il faut que le monde que vous avez envahi, s'affranchisse de celui
que vous habitez : alors les mers ne sépareront plus que deux amis
deux freres. Quel mal y aurait-il donc à cet ordre de choses ?

RAYNAL.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITORS BY R. GREENLAW,
36, HIGH HOLBORN.

1824.

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THE
AMERICAN MONITOR,

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GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE POLITICAL AND
MORAL STATE OF AMERICA, INTENDED AS AN
INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE TO THE AMERICAN
MONITOR.

As we have already said in our prospectus, in the actual state of the world, political science embraces two grand divisions; Europe and America. In former times, each of these may have formed a separate system; but, at present, they can no longer be considered as distinct. The New and the Old World are now pleading contradictorily, at the bar of the universe, questions of the most vital importance to social order.

For the first time, since the creation, we are presented with the gigantic spectacle of two hemispheres, advancing with equal rapidity, but in inverse ratio, into fatality. The one presents to our view, an increase of strength and prosperity, the other, a progress of decay and abasement. In other words, the actual condition of America resembles that expansive vitality peculiar to youth, while Europe seems to have reached that stationary point of virility, which presages a possible retrogression: in the one, may be already perceived the point where perfectibility stops; in the other, on the contrary, an immense horizon is discovered, which seems to extend in proportion as we advance.

These opposite progressions are undoubtedly conformable to the eternal order of nature, and, to foresee them, the philosopher needed only to examine what were the different necessities of society, according to each respective period. The progress, however, of the two hemispheres, would incontestably have been less rapid, had not events, hitherto unexampled in the history of the world, and excited by the most outrageous abuse of power, accelerated the natural course of things.

Our intention is not to trace the origin of the scenes that present themselves to our view. The primary causes of the grand catastrophe, which is now unfolding itself, are universally known; we will leave the historian to relate the calamities of the three last centuries, in the course of which America was discovered, and by turns, devastated, re-peopled, and re-modelled by Europe. This period is an unbounded field, open alike to the moralizer and the philosopher. But as our object is to confine ourselves to the practical policy and those

active systems which actually operate on society ; and to examine the questions which we shall treat of, rather in a relative view to their probable issue, than to the principles of right upon which they are founded, we shall choose for our starting point, that period when America, in the vigor of her youth, protested, with arms in her hands, against that species of social interdict imposed on her by the long supremacy of the Old World : in taking this position, we shall be enabled to follow, step by step, all those events, which, in their rapid succession, have for so many years blunted every congenial feeling that existed between the two hemispheres, and which have tended to consummate the most important revolution recorded in history.

However, as the United States occupy a distinct station in the American world ; as their religion, government, language, and industry, distinguish them from the Spanish and Portuguese Americas, and as, moreover, their national existence has been for a length of time irrevocably fixed ; we shall only refer to this part of the world under the common relation of its deliverance from European dependence, and under that new order of things emanating from the creation of the new governments of the south, whose different fortunes we intend to pursue, by thus constituting ourselves the annalists of their revolution:

This revolution, considered in its effects, which are already accomplished, as well as in its inevitable consequences, is the most extensive, the most variegated scene that can be opened to the descriptive pen of a political writer ; for it will be discovered, upon the slightest reflection, that the grand contest for the social organization of the world, far from having ended with the

French revolution, or with the late events in the Peninsulas, has been transferred to America, where the dispute is still kept up, more perhaps than is generally supposed, for the same object, which, thirty years ago, led the armies of Europe into the plains of Fleurus and Gemappe.

In fact, every thing has changed during the last ten years: previous to this, the question was plain and distinct; America would have been contented to obtain her independence, or perhaps even, merely to alter the plenitude of that authority exercised over her by Spain; but at present, she aims at shaking off her entire European dependence; she looks forward to a cessation of the colonial system, and combats for principles of universal sociability; so that from this conflict of numerous diverse interests, and almost of one world against another, arise daily a multitude of facts, each one of which might supply ample scope for a separate treatise.

And yet, strange to be said, there does not exist a single periodical work calculated to enlighten Europe on the course of a revolution which so deeply interests it; nor even to lay before America herself, the advantages or disadvantages of her situation. In short, the lot of half of the human race is discussed in the two hemispheres, without either of them being informed of the result, otherwise than by vague, tardy, and oftentimes illusory means.

It is to fill up this important chasm in the political world, that the American Monitor is destined. The editors of this new publication will not here make a pompous display of the means which they possess to traverse the immense career that presents itself before them; they do not intend to enter into long protestations,

nor to flatter their readers with those brilliant expectations which accompany the numberless and ephemeral productions daily brought forth. But, confident of the purity of their intentions, and persuaded, moreover, that public opinion is always equitable, they expect from time a more lasting favor than that which opinion sometimes grants to the art of prefaces and the seduction of promises. They may, however, assure their readers, that if their talents are not equal to the undertaking which their zeal has imposed on them, they will redeem the inferiority of their abilities by the advantages of the position in which they find themselves placed; a position which enables them to examine an infinite number of local and personal questions, which, in the actual state of things, would be perhaps inaccessible to the generality of writers. They will, likewise, add that, by calling public attention to the examination of those circumstances, which form the principal features of the American revolution, all their endeavours will tend to disentangle, without acrimony, truth from falsehood, without giving themselves up to malevolent or even useless reflections on anterior events, or on individuals who are not immediately connected with the principal subject on which they intend to treat. In short, they propose to prescribe to themselves a course of proceeding, diametrically opposite to that of gazetteers in general, who, amusing themselves in daily decomposing and remodelling the general system of the New World, and enlarging or diminishing, according to their caprice, the destiny which they are pleased to assign to this or that state or individual, only exasperate the passions, and supply them with fresh fuel.

Placed at a distance from the scene of contest, and

in a land, which morally speaking, may be termed neutral, the editors of the American Monitor will consider the passions that are in immediate action, only as the necessary results of a long series of events; they will free their discussion from every thing that can tend to increase resentment or self-love; they will consider ambition apart from the numerous motives which mislead or pervert it; in short, they will endeavour, as far as may lie in their power, to throw a light on the field of dispute, which may serve to guide the contenders, and make them sensible that, by neglecting to trace the origin of those operations which influence them, they are incessantly miscalculating the means to remedy the evils that oppress them; and that whether conquerors, or conquered oppressors or oppressed, they are equally the dupes of the ignorance of their real interests.

Whatever may be the final result of the contest in which the southern continent of America is actually engaged, it cannot be denied, that in no instance of anterior revolutions, more undetermined, discordant, and precarious measures were ever adopted. In order to discover the primary causes of this transitory confusion; in order to be able to trace those causes from their origin and in their progress, it is necessary to refer back to that period in history, when the war of independence broke out on the shores of the Orinoco, between Spain and America, that we may judge of those events which are now passing before our view.

On a brief survey of the capital points connected with this vast political scale, the editors of the Monitor will now lay before their readers, an exact

idea of the political doctrines which they intend to bring into the discussion of all the facts and elements composing the grand system of the American revolution; elements, however, of which they can only give a slight sketch, in this first essay of their undertaking.

For the sake of order and precision in the examination of the various subjects that enter into the immense prospect that opens to their view, they will confine themselves, for the present, to the consideration of South America, under the three following points, to the development of which the succeeding numbers of the Monitor will be dedicated.

1. The recent and real causes that have brought on the emancipation of all the southern continent of America, and its present and future relations with North America and Europe.

2. The different states of South America, considered in their relations with each other, as also with the empire of Brasil.

3. The examination of their interior situation, and of the government most suitable to secure their political existence, and promote their new social wants.

After treating on these primordial points, they propose to examine those questions of national prosperity on which, at the present time, chiefly depends the whole destiny of a state, namely, the power of money, the power of the sword, the power of a good political system, and the power of opinion. When these last points shall have been examined, the editors will complete their plan, by giving a few biographi-

cal sketches of the political characters of those men who shall have acted the most prominent parts on the political stage.

1st. POINT.—THE REAL CAUSES THAT HAVE BROUGHT ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SOUTHERN CONTINENT OF AMERICA.—THE PRESENT AND FUTURE RELATIONS OF THIS CONTINENT WITH NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE.

To bring this first question under its real nature, it is not necessary to examine it in its full extent; it suffices to refer to the commencement of the present century, in order to be convinced that although a number of secondary causes may, for a long time previous, have contributed to rouse the American population, yet the most active agent that goaded them on to the point which they have now gained, is incontestably the senseless tyranny with which the Spanish government made them feel the weight of its power and pride; and not any influential causes from abstract theories, which, for the last half century, have so constantly agitated the Old and a part of the New World.

In fact, did South America, in 1809, require any other stimulus than her actual sufferings, to induce her to wish for the destruction of the colonial system, which chained her down to the Spanish power? Was any other cause requisite, to compel her to shake off the yoke, than the view of the iniquities of which she was the victim, and the reasonable conviction that any change could not create a more deplorable state of things than that in which she

was placed? Her sufferings and the cruel certainty that every hope of bettering her condition was absolutely destroyed, through the blind despotism of the Spanish government, were the only doctrines which drew South America into a revolutionary career. In a word, it was much less for the purpose of defending principles, than of rectifying abuses, and obtaining the rights of nations, that the people beyond the Atlantic rose against their mother country. This is a truth of great importance, which we must have the courage to investigate in all its extent, for the very reason that European policy obstinately rejects and denies the fact.

It has been asserted that the destruction of the French Bastille was the prelude to the overthrow of all the others. This idea may be true to a certain extent, especially if it be applied to the nations of Europe, among which civilization has proceeded in a uniform course: but superficial observers, who, to avoid the labour of reflecting on local differences, generalize the principle, and maintain, for instance, that the revolution, which, forty years ago, separated from England the enlightened and free Protestant states of North America, produced some years after, that revolution which has lately severed from Spain the Catholic, intolerant, and blindly-submissive states of South America, and who pretend that the adoption of a republican government by the northern federation, was an electrical spark which suddenly republicanized the southern continent—such observers, we say, must have fallen into a most egregious error, which, if it be not designedly acquiesced in, can proceed only from the most complete ignorance of localities, things, and men.

The independence of the American United States, no doubt, gave a mortal wound to the colonial system of Europe, and was the forerunner of all the other commercial and political revolutions, by drawing America into a movement towards general emancipation; but that the Northern States should have, as it were, inoculated the Southern States with a need of their particular institutions, that they should have forcibly impressed on them a direction, similar to that which they pursued in the work of their own regeneration, is both improbable and false; for, to make them adopt their measures, it would have been previously requisite to have imparted to them their necessities, their sensations, their desires, and their climate; now, nothing could be so diametrically opposite as the moral condition of the two Americas, at the period of their respective insurrections.

If we search for primitive analogies, we shall discover still less similarity between the two nations. On the contrary, if we attentively reflect, we shall perceive a great disparity in the causes and effects of the internal commotions which armed the two Americas against their European rulers. The first disparity consists in the total want of resemblance in the customs, circumstances, and necessities in the two continents at the period of their respective revolutions; the next, in the equally absolute want of resemblance in the social phenomena, produced by the progressive steps of those revolutions among both people. Let us pursue this parallel, and prove, if possible, that the precedent of the United States revolution had very small influence; if indeed it had any, on the insurrection of South America; that the adoption of a republican government, the profession of demagogical

doctrines and philosophical jargon, which resound from one hemisphere to the other, never could have created a democratical system, which the Southern States adopted, only because no other presented itself to them at the time when they were compelled to secede from the Spanish monarchy that oppressed them; and that the only coercive impulse that acted with equal force on both Americas, was the imperious necessity of putting a term to that incongruous state of things, whereby one world will not acknowledge the political existence of another. Such is the only striking point of resemblance wherein the two nations were driven to seek their independence. As to the domestic and immediate causes of their respective insurrections, there is as wide a discrepancy as can possibly exist between the political institutions, suitable to their different customs, genius, necessities and direction; all attested by the various symptoms that have marked the several epochs of their revolutionary career.

A bill of finance, empowering the levy of stamp duty, that passed through both houses of the English parliament in 1765, was the spark which excited in America the revolutionary conflagration, whose elements had already been carried over by the Puritans in 1637; after this the insurrection of the citizens of Boston, apparently roused by the sending over a few chests of tea, by the East India Company, was the signal of that important revolution which was to raise a new empire in the world. But it may be asked, why in reality did America take up arms against her sovereign? She was protected by the same liberal institutions as the mother country; no individual was oppressed or injured, except by

a few insignificant monopolizing measures and prohibitive regulations, which established her colonial condition, rather *de jure* than *de facto*; she enjoyed the same advantages and the same laws as England. The American population was not oppressed by the rights of conquest; since its constituent parts were composed of English subjects, who had crossed the ocean to seek repose. The Americans could not complain of the laws by which they were governed, since they themselves had brought those laws into their new settlements; or afterwards contributed to their creation; in short, there was an almost absolute concordance between the social interests of America and England. But why, it will be said, did the blood of the warriors of the two worlds first flow in the plains of Lexington, and what was the mysterious grievance that excited a war, which for the number and splendour of events that signalised it, as well as for the important results accruing from it, will be an object of astonishment and an instructive lesson to future generations? The real cause, the mysterious grievance, arose not from any vicious inherent quality in her interior organization; for America then enjoyed a scope of liberty, which in the then political state of the world was calculated to raise the envy of the most favoured nations; nor was there one among whom, individual interest was less subject to vicissitude. But, from the very reason that the moral state of the two nations was the same, a sentiment of a superior nature, that of national independence, could but induce the Americans to free themselves from a subordination, which, however mild, beneficent, and nominal it might be, clashed with that equality of civilization, which, as soon as it per-

Vades two nations separated by nature, imperiously rouses them to an enjoyment of equal rights, were they even compelled, in order to obtain it, to break asunder that chain of affection and reciprocal interest which previously bound them so closely together.

In fact, such was the state of civilization among the Americans in 1769, that the English yoke had become absolutely insupportable; not that it oppressed or injured civil liberty, but merely because it implied a national minority, a species of political interdict, the combinations of which had been discovered by public intelligence, and were loudly reprov'd by American dignity. This fact is attested by the facility with which the disorganized elements of social order were again re-united under a form of government that could never be established among a people whose political education had as yet not been formed, and who had not participated in the benefits arising from an enlightened sphere of action. For it is universally acknowledged that, in the actual state of the world, a band of unenlightened slaves would be rather inclined to surrender themselves to the government of a single individual, who thinks for all, than to that of a republic, where every one must see and think for himself. This is why North America has never vacillated from her primitive direction; her progress has encountered numerous obstacles to be surmounted, but she has never lost sight of the principal object she first aimed at attaining; she has never been seen to turn aside from her republican tendency, and shift from one side to the other, according as any accidental impulse inclined her to deviate from the path which she had originally traced out for herself.

Let the detractors of the independence of the United States refer back to the period when that nation was fighting for its national liberty, and they must confess that the Americans always showed a capacity correspondent to the exigency of their pretensions; that the reverses which signalized their first onset by no means weakened their courage; that their lengthened state of subordination had neither enervated nor degraded their national character; and that their perseverance in good as in bad fortune, plainly attests that but a single incident was wanting to awaken the genius of liberty; and firm hands to conduct the republic to the accomplishment of its destiny. From all this it evidently results, that the revolution of the United States was far less a fortuitous consequence of the necessity of seceding from a tyrannical dominion, than an inherent principle of natural right, claiming no prescription for the existence of nations, and upholding, in the general course of things, a systematic order which must ever tend to find its proper level.

Such was the real cause of the North American revolution; but how far distinct was the case of South America from that which we have just pointed out. Let us attentively remark this difference, for it explains two essential points: the different course pursued by the revolutions of the two countries; and, as a necessary consequence, the little influence which the permanent institutions of the United States exercised over the variable institutions which the greater part of the Southern States adopted at the time when they separated from the mother country. This parallel will likewise convince the observer, that, from this primitive disparity, the gene-

and dependence of the New World is far from requiring that every state that it contains should be regulated by uniform institutions.

Thus we see that the preceding revolution is almost entirely derived from principles and inductions, while that which follows, clearly emanates from existing facts and real sufferings, the excess of which, independently of every other moral agency, has proved sufficient to excite the revolution which is now accomplishing; a fact which proves that the influence attributed to democratical maxims, is, in this case, but a very secondary, accidental, and subordinate cause to the efficient motive, the most insupportable oppression.

In fact, what a widely different aspect does not the condition of South America present, before her insurrection! Here the question is not as in the case of British America, merely to obtain an equality of rights: but to destroy a tyrannical authority obtained by the chance of fortune, seized upon for private interest, exercised in the most revolting and arbitrary manner, and attacking and lacerating, without remorse, all the interests of civil life. Not only does this authority trample under foot general rights and national prerogatives; but it destroys individual happiness; assails domestic comfort; oppresses the private man, and even in his home makes him feel, twenty times a day, the immediate effects of its disastrous presence. It is, in short, to South America, that, previous to the year 1809, might have been applied in its full force, that truth-stamped sentence of M. de Chateaubriand, "for every dollar spent in Europe, tears of blood flow in the abysses of the earth in America;" and, to convince ourselves of this lament-

able fact, there is no need to trace all the calamities inflicted by the Spaniards on their American brethren for the three last centuries; it will be sufficient to notice a few characteristic sketches from among those evils inflicted on this beautiful but unhappy country, at the period when the excess of its miseries compelled it to take up arms.

South America, even so lately as 1809, was groaning under the weight of nearly all the effects of that famous code of the Indies, and all the decrees promulgated by Ferdinand, Isabella, Philip and Charles, in order to accustom the people to slavery, under the ecclesiastical feudality and the barbarous administration of the *Encomiendas*; as if the debased nations for whom these odious laws had been enacted, had not been replaced by other nations too enlightened to endure any longer the horror of their condition. Who could believe, that, even in the beginning of the nineteenth century, religious interdictions prohibited the cultivation of the most fertile soil in the universe? That, in Chili, the orders of a barbarous mother country should prohibit the sowing of saffron, hemp and flax, and actually cause the olive and the vine to be rooted up, that the inhabitants might be compelled to import from Europe the wine and oil necessary for their consumption; that they were forced to fetch, at an enormous price, and at several thousand leagues from their coasts, the produce of Spanish industry even to objects of absolute necessity; that direct trade with foreign nations was prohibited, under very severe penalties, in order to constrain them to pay to Spain ten times more for an article than they could procure it for elsewhere; that foreigners were rigorously excluded from their ports, as they

themselves were from all foreign ports; that millions were annually extorted from them by Spain, under the plea of defending their coasts, while, at the same time, those coasts were exposed on all sides, to the attacks of their enemies; that they could obtain justice only by purchasing it of the Spanish tribunals three thousand leagues from their homes; that the countless millions, extracted by the Americans from their mother earth, were conveyed to Spain, never again to return; that every vestige of liberty of the press, political liberty, individual liberty, and even liberty of thought, was banished from their territory, to such a degree that Spain monopolizing ideas as well as interests, every work written in a foreign language was strictly prohibited.

Such are the primary and real causes that roused the population of the south. It is evident, therefore, that among the latter, the question by no means turned on abstract opinions or theoretical principles with respect to this or that form of government, but solely on the abolition of a tyrannical system, which doomed a nation of twenty millions of men to bury themselves alive under the mountains of Potosi, in order to satiate the luxury and voracity of eight millions of Europeans.

And yet what did America, thus disinherited of her rights and of the dignity inherent in the human race, require for herself? Did she pretend to an absolute independence? Did she wish to withdraw entirely from the yoke of her mother country? Not in the least. She supplicated Spain to allay her miseries, by conciliating the principles of her own policy with those of social rights. She merely requested a redress of injustices

against which she had been in vain protesting for three centuries. The following are the eleven propositions presented by her, and rejected by Spain, on the 16th November and 31st of December 1810.

1. That the national representation of each part of Spanish America should be, with respect to form and manner, the same, without any exception, as for the kingdom and islands of European Spain.

2. That the free-born natives and inhabitants of America might cultivate the soil as they should think fit.

3. That Spanish America might possess the right of exporting raw or manufactured articles to the Peninsula, as well as to neutral or friendly nations, and to import in exchange what might be found necessary for her own use; and that, consequently, all her ports might be opened.

4. That there might be a free trade between Spanish America and the Spanish establishments of Asia, and that all decrees subversive of this freedom of trade be abolished.

5. That liberty to trade with the different parts of Asia be granted to all the ports of Spanish America, and of the Philippine Isles. Every law contrary to this liberty to be abolished.

6. That every *estanco* or monopoly in favor of the king's public treasury be suppressed, on condition that the public treasury be indemnified for the profit arising from this monopoly, by additional duties on the same articles.

7. That the working of the quicksilver mines be free in Spanish America, but, that the administration of the produce remain in trust with the officers of the

mining department; independently of viceroys, captains-general, and officers of the Real *hacienda*.

8. That all Spanish Americans be jointly eligible to all offices, either at the court or any part of the administration, either diplomatic, military, or ecclesiastic.

9. That by virtue of natural right, one half of the public departments be confided to Spanish subjects born in America.

10. That, in order that the above stipulations might be punctually fulfilled, a consulting junto be formed in each capital, which junto might name those individuals capable of filling all vacant places.

11. That, considering the great advantages resulting from the cultivation of letters, and the benefits accruing from the instruction of the Indians, the order of the Jesuits might be restored.

Who could believe that these just and moderate pretensions, which breathed only a desire of being placed under equal rights, without manifesting the least republican tendency, the least symptom of separation, were, however, rejected by Spain, at a period when the latter proclaimed for herself, liberal principles, identically correspondent to those on which America supported her pretensions. It is from this inconceivable refusal that we must start, in order to appreciate the greatness and tendency of events, which, from this time, succeeded each other with so much rapidity in America.

It is an undoubted fact that, if the Spanish government had had the good sense to grant to America the enjoyment of those lawful rights which she claimed,

and had entered of its own accord into the irresistible impulse of her revolution, it might easily have diverted this revolution into a channel of monarchical power, whose principle, far from becoming more debilitated, would have increased in vigour and activity, by those very concessions that disembarrassed it from an unjust and antiquated power, held in horror by public opinion.

But Castilian pride was unwilling to conciliate that exigency of the age, with its own interests ; it preferred losing all to making the smallest concession ; it provoked the resistance of the colonies, and by its senseless obstinacy, was the first to bring into discussion the title of its sovereignty.

Of Spain, however, the situation, with regard to her colonies, was still favorable to her, and the government might have been able, even at this period, to treat upon the most advantageous terms. America loudly demanded her separation from Spain ; but the former was far from pretending or even from wishing to change the form of her government, or the reigning dynasty. Twice did Mexico, the chief of all the Spanish possessions, and superior to Spain herself in extent, fertility, population, riches and intelligence, invite the king of Spain or a prince of his family to come and rule over that magnificent country, which yielded at last to a republican system, after having twice endeavoured to establish a monarchy ; for, it is well known with what facility Iturbide obtained a crown, which the king of Spain had refused, and which, perhaps, this audacious Mexican is now on the point of replacing on his head. It is likewise known how often, for the last five

and twenty years, all the States of South America, solicited to be governed by European princes, offering at the same time large indemnities to Spain for the cession of her right of sovereignty. Now, it is evident that nothing would have been more easy than to have raised monarchies on those very territories now occupied by republics. America would have worshipped the beneficent being, who would have announced to her, a quarter of a century ago, that she was passing from a state of Spanish colonization, to that of an independent monarchy, whoever might have been the prince appointed to govern her.

From this positive disparity between the origin and development of the respective revolutions of the two Americas, there evidently results a consequence which it is important not to lose sight of;—which is :

That the separation of South America from the mother country, being in consequence of the sufferings she endured, and not the effect of democratical principles to which it is falsely attributed, this country, by proscribing tyranny, certainly intended not to proscribe royalty also, in the room of which a republic was adopted; only because perhaps, if a good government be the right of nations, some government or other is their first requisite; this consideration might lead one to believe, that even now, a constitutional monarchy might be established, if a prince possessed wisdom enough to be willing to shake off superannuated principles, and create a new era for America, by establishing the grand principle of her independence, the necessity of which is now geometrically established. Nevertheless, this proposition, how reasonable soever it may be, is on our part, only a conjecture, of which we are far from pro-

claiming ourselves the champions; for, if experience prove to us that the Spanish American States can find their prosperity in the form of the government that now directs them, we will be ready to consecrate all our labours to uphold and consolidate this new system, because it is part of our political creed to make individuals give way to things, and prefer the many to the few, whatever way our own private opinions incline us.

Be it however as it may, it is on its own merits, and not by the effect of any foreign reaction that Spanish America has entered into a career tempestuous, and perhaps uncertain, but which, in all human probability, must ultimately free her from all Spanish dominion; a dominion, moreover, which independently of the tyranny with which it was exercised, had become, by the very fact of its existence, a contradiction, or rather a real political incongruity. The past, present, and future, the folly as well as the weakness of Spain, the nature of localities as well as that of things and men, private as well as general interest, all loudly called for the independence of the Spanish colonies.

If the enfranchisement of the north was a necessary event, how much more necessary, more legal, more imperious is at present the enfranchisement of the south! In fact, when New England commenced hostilities against Great Britain, the former was inferior to the latter in population, industry, and riches, and, had it not been for the support of France, it is probable that the result of its efforts would have been at least doubtful. But what has South America to fear from the pitiful power of Spain, who, according to the expression of a great writer, has been inflicting self-murder on herself for the last half-century? Is there, in fact,

any similitude between Spain, possessing herself of a new continent, and laying down the law to the finest part of the Old World, under Charles V. and modern Spain struggling in the tortures of an ignominious agony under Ferdinand VII.? Certainly not; and from the period when the army under General Osorio was destroyed on the banks of the Maipo, the destiny of America was no longer doubtful, and it remained self-evident, that if the fate of that country was to be decided only by a contest between herself and Spain, it was irrevocably fixed on the side of her complete emancipation. At present, the obstinacy of Spain, in wishing to reconquer, by force, her transatlantic possessions, is still more replete with folly. One single vessel, the Asia, the only remnant of her naval grandeur, forms the whole of her actual navy; civil war and hordes of banditti constitute her land forces, an enormous debt, the contempt of Europe, a paralyzed commerce and lands untilled, form her financial resources; in short, some priests, a few soldiers, and a prince blinded by imbecility, compose a government, which seems destined to amaze the world, still more by its folly than by its sinister intentions. And is it with such elements as these, that Spain, stained as she is with corruption, intends to re-erect the monarchy of the Philips; and recal under her obedience a multitude of vigorous states, which, for the last fifteen years, have gained in strength, estimation, and civilization, as much as Spain has acquired in debasement and weakness?

Moreover, waving the consideration of all the disasters incident to the mother country, which we

have enumerated, how is it possible that a population of nearly twenty millions could remain subject to a power that does not possess in Europe eight millions of subjects, and which could not grant the least useful protection, in compensation for the exorbitant privileges which she arrogated to herself? witness the uncontested occupation of the Floridas, which the United States seized upon, under the convenient pretext that the feeble and abandoned condition of these possessions, joined to the consideration of their proximity to the United States, were sufficient motives to authorize the occupation of a position, which, like Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, or England itself, is calculated to command the navigation of the world.

It is, therefore, evident, that if no foreign force intervene, South America is irrevocably freed from her bonds. It remains now to ascertain whether it be the interest or policy of those powers who have no possessions in America, to enter into a contest in which their interposition would be, in fact, announcing to the world a system of unlimited invasion of rights; for it is plain, that not one of the motives recently alleged against Spain and Italy are at all applicable to South America.

Nothing seems to forebode that such will be the conduct of the cabinets of continental Europe. But let us anticipate the most fatal suppositions, and let us admit the hypothesis whereby a more than imprudent policy would lead them into an alliance, tending to constrain America, by force of arms, to return under the yoke of the mother country, or to adopt a prescribed form of government: is it not probable, or rather, is it not certain, that such a step would meet with an in-

surmountable barrier in the counter interposition of the United States and of Great Britain—a barrier which, according to all probability, would become a source of fatal re-action for the aggressors themselves. The wishes of the United States, and the objects of their policy are manifest. Every one knows that, after the acquisition of their own independence, their greatest interest is that of the liberation of South America; for, independently of the grand question of its political existence, of which the liberty of the south ought to serve as a corollary, and which, for instance, would be immediately threatened by the submission of Mexico to the political system of the holy alliance, it is evident that the same liberty which will open the southern ports to every flag, will considerably add to the possession of the Floridas, whence the United States will be able to watch all foreign navigation, which constantly tends towards the Gulf of Mexico. But perhaps, it will be said, if such be the interest of the United States, why have they observed that strict neutrality between Spain and her colonies? By entering as a party in the contest, they would have accelerated so desirable an event. To this we will answer, that this neutrality is, in our opinion, one of the wisest calculations of the Washington cabinet. The North Americans perceived that the insurrection of South America was one of those events that could not be prevented by feeble efforts; they, therefore, waited till facts had sufficiently attested the inability of Spain to regain her authority: by this prudent conduct, they prevented the issue of the contest being attributed to accidental force or to a violation of public rights, which, in the eyes of Europe,

might have weakened the legitimacy of American independence; and this was the grand and essential point, since on this depended the accordance of general principles with the exigency of those particular circumstances in which the Spanish colonies were placed. But, as soon as the government of one of the insurgent states had acquired, by its own energy, some appearance of stability, the United States immediately recognized its independence, and thus openly displayed their ultimate policy and power. Besides, if there remained the least doubt with respect to the determination of this country, in case of an attack on America, by any European power, acting in the name of the mother country, the speech of the president in congress, pronounced in 1823, must tend to dissipate all such expectation: the following are a few extracts:—

“The Ministers who were appointed to the republics of Colombia and Buenos-Ayres, during the last session of Congress, proceeded afterwards to their destinations. Of their arrival there, official intelligence has not yet been received. The minister appointed to the republic of Chili will sail in a few days. An early appointment will also be made to Mexico. A minister has been received from Colombia, and the other Governments have been informed that ministers, or diplomatic agents of inferior grade, would be received from each, according as they might prefer the one or the other:”

The president, after having spoken on the internal affairs of the republic, which he pronounces to be highly satisfactory, alludes carefully to the failure

of the president's former hopes in regard to the great efforts made in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries ; and he says :—

“ In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of our most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But, with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner

their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States !”

The president next speaks of the obviously unsettled state of Europe, of which no greater proof could be given than the aggression upon Spain:—

“ To what extent such interpositions may be carried on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers, whose governments differ from theirs, are interested ; even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy, in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early age of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same ; which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers ; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us ; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy ; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power—submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to those continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness ; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain, and those new governments, and their dis-

tance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

As to England, her policy can no longer be doubtful. These are not times when a minister, overruled by a somewhat superstitious respect for those rights claimed by Spain over America, requested of the House of Commons, permission to prohibit English trade from favouring, with those means at its disposal, the emancipation of the new South American States. At present, a more enlightened, free, and liberal policy, founded on a deep knowledge of public interest, has replaced those frigid calculations and false combinations of a narrow-minded policy, which, for too long a period, sacrificed the general interests of England to private interests. The prime minister, to whose energy America will be partly indebted for the accomplishment of her regeneration, plainly sees that, the industry of the continent providing sufficiently for its own necessities, the day is not far distant, when Great Britain will no longer be able to supply the deficiency of those markets, from which the European governments will by degrees shut her out, than by flying to those open to her in the new world; and that English commerce impatiently waits for that period, when South America, entirely free from the enemy that she is now struggling with, will increase her population and her riches, and multiply her calls on European industry.

A single glance thrown on the progressive advance of the commerce of Great Britain with South America,

since the dawn of the emancipation of that country, must convince the most incredulous, that it is impossible that Great Britain should let South America return to its former state of dependence.—We shall now see:—in 1807, the exports of Great Britain to South America (including Brasil) amounted to £1,326,260; in 1808, they had increased to £4,829,636; from this time to 1820, they still continued at from 4 to 5 millions; in 1821, they were at £4,926,980; in 1822, the emancipation of Brasil had raised them of a sudden to £5,323,405; and, although we have not as yet before us the official amounts of 1823, we are convinced from our private sources of information, that the exportations of that year, owing to the same cause, have considerably augmented.

On the other side, the situation of Great Britain with regard to the continent of Europe, is sufficient to cement her alliance with America. Formidable as she is on that element, where she can with impunity be great and free, all the European cabinets have not as yet been able to entice her into their own retrogressive course of proceedings. But indeed, whatever may be her patriotic sentiments, England cannot exist without allies, and since the policy of the continental monarchies becomes daily more diametrically opposite to the spirit, and perhaps to the very existence of the British constitution, it is doubly incumbent on her to form a system of alliance with the New World, towards which she is irresistibly attracted by her geographical situation, the nature of her political institutions, and the interests of her commerce.

In this state of things, it is scarcely to be doubted, but that in case any third power of Europe should

wish to interfere hostilely, in the contest of the American colonies with their mother-country, such power would have to encounter the combined forces of the whole of America and Great Britain; and it is equally evident that this maritime war, between naval forces, so very unequal in every respect, would not be concluded otherwise than with the loss of those colonies that might still belong to the European powers engaging in the contest; and that thence would result the total ruin of their trade, and the absolute and unconditional liberation of such transatlantic states as are still disposed to enter into conciliation with their mother-country.

On viewing all these considerations, it appears to us, that, far from hastening, by hostile declarations towards the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the alliance of England and America, an enlightened policy ought rather to seek every means to interpose between them; for in such case, the navy of the European governments might, if needful, find useful auxiliaries in that of North America, and of the new governments of South America; whereas, by compelling those states to throw themselves now under the protection of Great Britain, Europe is actually providing this already formidable empire with new and exclusive alliances, calculated to perpetuate that dominion which it has already acquired in every sea.

And why should the European monarchies render so complicated the chances of their futurity? Would it be in the hope of going to lay waste America a third time? to lead her again from mishap to mishap, without even the possibility of being able to re-impose on her a leaden yoke which she has shaken off for ever? Oh,

that the princes of Europe would but pause on the consideration of the numerous generations that the bosom of America, when free, cannot fail to produce! and let them calculate on all that Europe must ultimately gain by this multiplication of Americans, and by the progress of their civilization. This revolution, one of the greatest and most useful that has taken place in the world, will prove more important in its necessary consequences, than even the discovery of the New World. It will lead, in America itself, to new discoveries, more extensive than those already made; for until now its interior parts have not even been explored.

But the emancipation of the Southern colonies, so useful to the New, will be scarcely less so to the Old World. Soon will America, guided from one pole to the other by enlightened governments, peaceably develop all those seeds of riches, scattered by the bountiful hand of nature on her soil; and by becoming richer herself, will multiply her appeals to European industry. The destruction of the colonial system which the partizans of ancient doctrines regard as the ruin of Europe, will, on the contrary, become one of the most active principles of its future fortune. This conjecture will not appear as hazardously started, when we consider, that, since the emancipation of the United States, the latter have quadrupled the demands formerly made on the trade of Great Britain; and that, thereby, they have made ample amends for the trifling duties they were unwilling to pay, and which were the first cause of hostilities against their mother-country. America will, moreover, render to the old world a still more important service, by affording an asylum to that superabundant population, the increase of which is facilitated in

Europe by the prolongation of a state of peace, and by those powerful specifics which chance has of late years offered to the science of physic. The activity of this superabundant population might become fatal to the peace of Europe: it will be exerted without danger on the savage but fruitful nature of the South American states, which we will now consider under another point of view.

**2nd. POINT.—THE DIFFERENT STATES OF SOUTH AMERICA.
CONSIDERED IN THEIR RELATIONS AMONG EACH OTHER
AND WITH THE EMPIRE OF BRASIL.**

Before we enter upon the important discussion of the interior policy of the whole of the South American states, it is necessary to fix our attention on the empire of Brasil, round which nature has entwined them; for, on the fate of this empire at present depends the total cessation of European colonization.

If the immediate causes that have brought on the separation of Brasil from the mother country be not absolutely the same as those that have induced the Spanish possessions to shake off their yoke, it is no less certain that its independence is a modified consequence of the same principles that have led the rest of America into a general movement of enfranchisement. Now, under this view, all that we have said respecting the national rights pleading in favour of the independence of the great American body, is equally applicable to the situation in which Brasil is, with respect to Portugal. The Portuguese dominion was certainly less oppressive than the Spanish yoke; but this differ-

ence could not destroy the unalienable nature of the rights of Brasil. This difference, however, deserves to be investigated ; for it proves that the Brazilian revolution is still more irrevocable than that of the Spanish colonies, as it is less the result of an actual insupportable oppression, than of the state of morals, of the public spirit, and of the national patriotism of the Brazilians, who, for a long time previous, had entered too deeply into the knowledge of social rights to be able to endure any longer an endless guardianship. And, in fact, the series of events that brought Brasil to its present social condition, has no connexion whatever with the events that characterize the course of the revolution in the Spanish colonies. This dissimilitude is essential, as it serves to estimate both men and things. If, delivered from the iron yoke of an implacable despot, Spanish America suddenly had recourse to democracy, Brasil, on the contrary, freed from a dominion which had hardly any thing against it, but the absence of right, wished only to put two equal weights in the balance ; proscribe absolute as well as revolutionary power, despotism as well as anarchy, and raise its national independence on the firm and stable principles of universal right.

The history of the relations of Brasil with Portugal is universally known ; and it suffices, in order to be convinced of the fact which we have just related, to look back to that period when the court of Lisbon went to settle at Rio Janeiro : every antecedent refers to this epoch.

We have already said that Brasil did not groan under so severe, so ignominious an oppression, as that un-

der which the Spanish colonies suffered ; and that the primary motive that caused the former to take up arms, was the necessity it felt for national independence. But, in 1822, was this necessity of such a nature as to allow Brasil still to transact with it ? Our opinion is in the negative, in as much as at that period, the question respecting Brasil was not to ascertain whether it should be raised to the rank of an independent nation, but whether it should fall from that rank, to sink again into that abject state of subordination, from which it had been delivered by the most solemn acts. In fact, not only had the court of Lisbon, by transporting itself to Brasil in 1808, recognized a perfect identity between the rights of this country and of Portugal, but moreover, the congress of Vienna, to which John VI. officially communicated in 1814, the erection of Brasil into a kingdom, confirmed this solemn erection, by admitting the new state into the monarchical system of the world. From that period, the most important changes took place in the interior organization of Brasil. The choice of a capital, the creation of supreme tribunals, the opening of commerce, and every thing that constitutes the independence of a monarchy, were granted to it. Nevertheless, this new existence entirely depended on the presence of the court at Rio de Janeiro ; and it is generally allowed, that on that very day, when, obeying the summons of the Lisbon Cortes, John VI. set sail for Europe, the political existence of Brasil would have ceased, had not Don Pedro, by his presence, had the sagacity to preserve this vast empire, which, but for him, would incontestably have preferred throwing itself into the arms of democracy, than returning to that state of colonization with

which it was threatened by the departure of the monarch,—a departure, which was, in fact, annulling the political rights of Brasil.

To escape from this critical situation, two ways alone were left to Brasil; viz. its separation from Portugal, or its junction with the republican system that sways the other states of the Southern continent. In this difficult alternative, one haven alone presented itself to Brasil, threatened as it was by a revolutionary storm; it sheltered itself there.

A prince of the royal blood knew how to reconcile duties the most opposite in appearance, and strengthen in its foundations, a state visibly shaken in its constitutive principles, as well as in its monarchical existence. Don Pedro declared himself the perpetual defender of the Brasilians, who hailed his accession to the imperial throne with acclamations and transports of joy, that sufficiently attested that this people as much dreaded the loss of the cherished race of its kings, as it dreaded retrograding in the political order, by humbling itself again as a slave before Portugal.

Thus, therefore, Brasil knew at once how to rally more closely to the house of Braganza, and divorce itself from Portugal, to which it could no longer be subservient, after having enjoyed, for the space of twelve years, the sweets of emancipation, and all the advantages of a local government.

Separated as it had been, in reality, for fourteen years, circumstances were then such as render it impossible for Brasil to receive fresh bondage; so that the prince had only to choose between the necessity of renouncing, for himself and family, the sovereignty of this delightful country, or immediately to place the crown on his own head. “The departure of your Royal

Highness from the states of Brasil," said the president of the municipal deputation of Rio Janeiro, "will be the decree that will for ever sanction the independence of Brasil."

And that independence, what was it then but the formation of Brasil into eighteen or twenty republican factions? This remonstrance convinced the prince that he was the only bond that remained between the two countries, and his Royal Highness yielded to the interests of Brasil, as well as to the necessity of preserving in the New World, the monarchical principle and the inheritance of the crown: in short, Don Pedro, as Mr. de Beauchamp expresses it, became Emperor of Brasil, as the duke of Anjou had become king of Spain, under the name of Philip V.; as Ferdinand of Bourbon had become king of Naples, by hereditary title; and almost, as Ferdinand VII. superseded Charles IV. at Aranjues after the latter's abdication; so that, it may be said that far from legitimacy being violated in Brasil, it was legally consecrated in the person of Don Pedro. *

If these considerations be duly felt by our readers, they will be convinced that, far from having brought on a period of disorder, the imperial revolution of Brasil

* The enemies of this prince in vain attempt to represent his accession to the throne as an encroachment upon paternal rights; they feign not to know that this salutary measure had been explicitly prescribed to him by his august father. "My son," said his Majesty, while investing him with the regency of that kingdom, "I confide to you all my authority; take care that Brasil become neither the prey of the factions, nor of an adventurer; and rather than behold this fine crown torn away by usurpation, place it on your own head." Let these royal words be weighed, and then let it be said whether Don Pedro could have acted otherwise than he did.

has but put an end to that uncertain and false position in which it was placed towards Portugal, as well as towards the American states.

In fact, Brasil could not be admitted into the political system of either, because its relations with regard to equality, inferiority, and patronage, were not as yet determined. Now, on the contrary, it presents itself to the view of Portugal, as an organized political body, which, being of necessity obliged to detach itself from its mother-country, may at least offer a guarantee for the fulfilment of the treaties of which its emancipation may be the object; and to the New World, as a government whose precise and determined form may serve as the support of its public right.

Besides, there is a mathematical truth, on which, perhaps, a false craving for fictitious power blinds the Portuguese government; namely, that taking things as they now are, the non-recognition of the independence of Brasil is in direct opposition to the interests of the riches, power, and dignity of Portugal. Brasil is not now as formerly, surrounded by inoffensive colonies; it is in the midst of independent states, whose political existence would be constantly threatened by the principle of the absolute Portuguese monarchy, as well as by the alliance which this power might possibly contract with Spain. It follows, therefore, that Brasil, as a Portuguese colony, being by nature exposed to the attacks of its neighbours, must be constantly defended by an European army, whose permanent maintenance, joined to the other expenses of the interior administration, would far exceed the Brazilian revenues, and ruin the system of defence of the mother-country against the enemy at its gates.

Moreover, who is ignorant that for a nation whose exuberance of population is not enormously disproportionate to the extent of its territory, the monopoly of gold, silver, and merchandize, is not now a real source of riches ? The Portuguese territory is far from being covered with inhabitants, or its fields with crops ; it is there, however, that in the present state of things, the nation must find its new Potosi ; it needs not, therefore, apprehend that without the exclusive commerce of Brasil it would be ruined without resource.

Besides, Portugal has only to express the wish, and all that is really profitable and equitable in that commerce will be conceded to her in preference to any other people. Its ancient rights over Brasil give it real ones in point of commercial anteriority, of exclusive advantages which Brasil, at least we suppose so, would grant her without difficulty, in return for her title of sovereignty ; for, setting aside the question of its independence ; all that Brasil desires is for the interest of Portugal, as well as to its own.

Let Portugal then rest well assured that the source of its real power is in its own bosom ; let it employ, in the cultivation of its interior riches, the strength and life which it vainly lavishes in the attempt to re-establish hurtful and short lived relations with its ancient colony ; let it peaceably enjoy the commercial privileges which Brasil is, no doubt, ready to grant to it, and no longer found hopes of fortune on dispersed ruins, regrets and hypotheses, but on real facts, on the circumstances in which it is placed, and on the effective advantages which are offered to it.*

* Vide the article " Commerce " in the Appendix.

Would Portugal be restrained by the apprehension that its diplomatic importance would diminish with the extent of its colonial possessions? But, even under this point of view, it seems to us that the collective influence of two independent nations, governed, if it must be so, by two members of the house of Braganza, will give greater weight to Portugal in her European negotiations, and in general affairs, than the fictitious title of "the united kingdoms of Portugal and Brasil" could bestow.

Let Portugal, then, no longer obstinately endeavour to effect an ill assorted union between herself and Brasil, and Brasil will discharge the sacred debt of her gratitude by giving, in return for the concession of some few unproductive prerogatives, all the real advantages which friendship, family ties, and a long course of confidence claim from her; for, if there be between the Brasilians and the Portuguese, an incompatibility of government and of position, on account of the distance which separates them, there will also be, at least, if Portugal wishes it, a community of interests, of esteem, and of benevolence.

Still, however, should an untoward fatality propel Portugal to throw down the gauntlet to Brasil, and should we be asked whether it were absolutely impossible for the former to reduce the latter again under its primitive dependence, we should not hesitate to answer, that Portugal might, as well and even better than Spain, regain in commercial advantages what she has lost in direct advantages of sovereignty over her ancient colonies; but that all hope of a new subjection, or of any thing like it, would be a chimera, which it is high time she should divest herself of. Whoever would

maintain the contrary opinion, must shut his eyes to the evidence of facts.

At the time of the colonization of Brasil, the population of Portugal could furnish a sufficient number of soldiers to force into submission a few and but badly armed savages, whose territory, however, they only succeeded in possessing themselves of by settling there, and by driving out the natives. Then also, the financial resources of Portugal were adequate to the exigences of the armaments which left its ports to seek the distant shores of America. But another state of things has now succeeded: this formerly desert territory which a detachment of Europeans could traverse with impunity in every direction, is now covered with towns and fortresses, and occupied by a population of four millions of inhabitants. At the present day, the financial superiority is on the side of Brasil; for, it is demonstrated that to fit out an armament which could make the smallest impression on Brasil, an expense amounting to three times the revenue of Portugal, would be requisite; and even granting to Portugal the means of creating this first armament, how would she be able to recruit it, at two thousand leagues distance from her own country, and in presence of an enemy, who would defend themselves with their whole population, harassing a body of a few thousand men, on a line of operation intersected by a thousand local obstacles, and as large as three parts of Europe.

Were it objected in opposition to this, that there exist in Brasil a republican and a monarchical party, whose intestine divisions would weaken her system of defence, we should answer that, although there may

exist some difference of opinion, as to the form of interior administration, there is but one way of thinking on the essential point, that of national independence.

Besides, Brasil would not have occasion to put in motion her entire population in her own defence; she already possesses an organized army,* which may balance all the forces of Portugal; and every body knows that, in the various struggles against the Spaniards, the French, the English, the Dutch, and even in civil dissensions, the Brazilians have always shewn themselves essentially warlike.

Will it still be said that the difference between the Brazilian system and that of the neighbouring states, may induce the latter to favor the cause of the Portuguese? But, who does not know that the first want of the present American governments, whatever be the difference of their political systems, is generally to set themselves free from European dependence?

Besides, it is a strange error to assert that the monarchical existence of Brasil is incompatible with that of the republics bordering upon it. This might indeed be the case, if the Brazilian manners and all social elements were diametrically opposite to the form of their govern-

* The Brazilian army amounts to about twenty five or thirty thousand troops of the line, and above fifty thousand regular militia; those forces are thus distributed; at Rio Janeiro, six thousand troops of the line and fifteen thousand militia; at Rio Grande, eight thousand troops of the line; after which there still remain, ten thousand troops of the line and fifteen thousand militia, which are distributed in the other provinces.....As to the imperial navy, which is just in a manner sprung up, it already exhibits more than thirty ships of war.

ment, and thereby inclined to receive a new direction; if the boundaries of the new empire brought it in immediate contact with the republican states; if this empire existed under an absolute government that would proscribe any democratical principle. But, Brasil, essentially monarchical in its manners, in its wants, in the nature of its territorial properties, in its present social distinctions, in a word, in the whole of its civil and political state; Brasil, which by its situation between the two great rivers, the Plata and the Amazon, which it neither can nor will go beyond, is destined by nature not to disturb any other state; Brasil, whose fundamental and definitive law admits of the democratical principle, as an integral part of a representative monarchy; Brasil, which, as rich and as vast as the richest and vastest empire in the universe, must for ages to come, be taken up only with its internal organization, and with maturing those seeds of prosperity which it contains in its own bosom; Brasil, in short, separating from ancient Europe to unite itself to young America, and regenerating under a prince, who has declared in the face of the world "that the time for deceiving mankind is over, and that all dominion, which has not the public good for its aim, is of short duration;" but, we ask, can Brasil, thus constituted, ever inspire the independent states of the same continent with any reasonable ground of fear? One might as well maintain that the British Empire is a natural enemy to the Swiss confederation *.

* We will not here call back the antient co-existence of monarchical and republican governments in the austral hemisphere. Every one

Far from disturbing the harmony of the South American republics, constitutional Brasil recently freed from its European guardianship, must, of absolute necessity, enter into their defensive system ; for, they all have to repulse the common enemy of their national independence, out of which there would be for neither, either republic or monarchy.

The public right between the empire of Brasil and the democratical states of the same continent, must then

knows that when the Europeans first discovered America, they found there republics such as that of Tlascala which, from time immemorial, peaceably existed by the side of the Peruvian and Mexican empires. But we will say that the principles acknowledged by the republic of Colombia on several solemn occasions, prove that a monarchy newly formed, is no ways incompatible with the republican governments which have been raised on the ruins of the Spanish monarchy. The following passage, extracted from the memoir of the minister for foreign affairs of the Colombian republic, presented to the national congress on the 21st of April 1823, is worthy of fixing all the attention of our readers. Speaking of various negotiations begun with the states lately formed out of the wrecks of the Spanish possessions, and alluding to some diplomatic difficulties which had started between the republican government and the court of Mexico, the Minister observes that "the obstacle does not arise from the form of government there established, since that of Colombia has adopted as a maxim not to meddle with the domestic affairs of other powers. It is very easy to recognize any government whatever, when we know the principle or source whence it derives its authority, and by which it is rendered susceptible of progressive ameliorations. *The republic of Colombia has solemnly acknowledged the independence of the empire ;* but to extend that acknowledgment to the dynasty there established in fact, in the person of Don Augustin Iturbide and his family, it requires other data which are to this day wanted." The plain result of this passage is, that the monarchical principle does not thwart the republican policy of the southern states. What an argument in favor of the present government of Brasil!

be established on immutable principles, which the presence of a monarchical government cannot alter in any way. For, this system of public right must now aim at consolidating their common freedom, rather than fixing the nature of their domestic institutions; institutions, from the very difference of which, it would be easy to prove that a new means of equilibrium might spring, calculated to moderate some, to tranquilize others, and to secure the rights and repose of all. Thus, the appearing, in the southern hemisphere, of a constitutional empire, governed by a liberal monarch, is perhaps an additional guarantee to the existence of the democratical states. Their reciprocal relations will not be determined by antecedent theories, but by the existing state of things, which plainly points out to them that their common safety can only arise from a frank and loyal federative American system. This federative system will insure to each the means of improving its condition under the protection of all; it will clear the road to independence, which every one may then securely tread on. It will prevent the powerful from intimidating the weak, and preserve the wise from the turbulence of the giddy. Then will South America find in the very diversity of its organic elements, a great and noble federative system, and a just and formidable scheme of war, to oppose to the machinations of Europe. The empire and the republics, both springing from the same noble source, the need of independence, will feel sensible that their union is the rigorous condition of their duration; and Brasil, by its frank, disinterested and truly American policy, will acquire the glory of having placed itself, almost at its birth, in the rank of the founders of the public Ameri-

can right, of the benefactors of mankind, and of the pacificators of the New World; in a word, it will maintain the equilibrium of the South, while the United States insure that of the North. But, to return to Portugal.

If the government of that kingdom relied on European auxiliaries, to replace Brasil under its dominion, we would reply that this new empire, finding itself with respect to the United States and England, in a situation perfectly similar to that of Spanish America, any armed interposition from either one or several European powers in favour of Portugal, would inevitably be attended with the same consequences which we have already pointed out, when speaking of Spain and its colonies.

But if, contrary to all justice and probability, a Portuguese army should obtain, at first, some few advantages over a nation whose commerce is not impeded by war; which hears the tumult of arms but on few points of an immense circumference; which, in spite of hostilities, has seen its prosperity increase and its resources extended; over a nation which fights for its liberty and its independence, we should not be the less convinced that such advantages could only give to Portugal that momentary supremacy which passes over to any nation in whose favour fortune has declared itself in the last battle, but that the essential supremacy, that which consists in the morals, wishes, and wants of the people, in the feelings of national honour and in the general laws which are not to be suspended by incident, would ultimately be the lot of Brasil, and the reward of its efforts. Let us now come to the particular situation of the other states of South America.

We must divide the whole of the ancient Spanish colonies of America, into large masses entwined round Brasil, in the following order :

1°. Buenos-Ayres, and the country to the south of Brasil.

2°. Chili, the province of Tucumana, Peru to the east of Brasil, and on the Pacific Ocean.

3°. Carraccas, and the countries to the north of Brasil on the Gulph of Mexico.

4°. Mexico, this grand natural division has lately undergone some political subdivisions, such as the erecting of the ancient captainry of Guatimala into an independent republic, under the name of *Central Provinces*, since the overthrow of the imperial government of Mexico; and likewise the separation of Paraguay from the coalition of La Plata. But all those elements of the great American confederacy now proceed in the same direction, with either more or less rapid success, according to the nature of the circumstances in which they are situated.

In our succeeding Nos. we shall successively enter into a minute examination of the internal and external situation of each of these states; now, we shall sketch but feebly a few general traits.

COLOMBIA, a new state formed out of the old Spanish vice-royalty of New Grenada, and of the general captainry of Caraccas, is, of all the new states of South America, that which has most attracted the attention of Europe for a long time, and created most interest and curiosity. Having entered one of the first into the career of a stormy independence, it has under-

gone all its vicissitudes with a perseverance, which will command the admiration of posterity.

Indeed, as soon as Venezuela had obtained an independent government, in 1810, the chiefs of the revolution wished to substitute in each province their own private authority for the sovereign one, and to establish a federative republic after the model of that of the United States; but the intellect of the Spanish Americans was not yet equal to that degree of liberty, and a few hundred men who came from Cora, under the orders of Mouteverde, sufficed to overthrow a federative government, whose organic elements were already disunited by division. Thus, the provinces which now compose the republican unity, were for six successive years the sport of their intestine dissensions, tearing each other, and contending for sovereignty; and overthrowing one constitution after another, while the cannon of Morillo resounded in their ears.

The subsequent union of all the provinces under a central government, brought on at last a change in the state of things. Bolivar, who in the midst of the storm, had never despaired of the public safety, was able to resist the veterans of Morillo, to cross the Andes over the bodies of the Spaniards who defended them, to change the character of the war, and to compel his ferocious enemy to observe the laws sanctioned by civilized states, by concluding an armistice with a nation, which he had long affected to consider as a horde of banditti.

From that moment, this extensive part of the New World, by dint of constancy and sacrifices, obtained at last its independence; and consolidated, under one

and the same commonwealth, the political existence of that immense country, which extends from the Caribbean sea to Peru, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

At the present moment, not only does Spain no longer possess a single inch of ground in that vast region, but she is actually pursued by the victorious arms of Colombia, who, after having conquered her own independence, is now taken up with the liberation of the neighbouring countries : Bolivar has himself led troops to Peru, to free the cradle of the Incas from the presence of the Spaniards. *

The internal regeneration of Colombia keeps pace with the success of her arms. That republic has already acquired a degree of civilization which no other state of Spanish America has yet attained, and one cannot see, without admiration, the rapidity with which each branch of her social existence is now improving under the protecting ægis of her internal constitution. Tranquillity, general submission to the common law, security for all rights lawfully acquired, a wise and vigorous government acknowledged and respected in every part of the territory—such are the characteristic features under which the republic of Colombia, so feeble, so insignificant, a few years ago, now offers herself to the view of the civilized universe. †

* Vide the Document, p. 87.

† The financial concerns of Colombia are, on the part of her government, the object of a constant solicitude, which guarantees that it will loyally and strictly fulfil its engagements with its creditors. Appended to an official report on the internal state of the republic, made to the Congress by one of the ministers in the end of April last,

PERU, which, once freed from the Spanish dominion, must be, by its geographical position, one of the states the least exposed to new attacks, is, however, the only ancient Spanish possession, where war has been carried on with any activity, for the two last years, and where the remainder of the metropolitan army has fought with some success. Sheltered behind the mountains where it was very difficult to come at them, the enemy could, with impunity, range over various parts of that immense continent, and even attack the capital (Lima) which they have, by turns, taken and lost, and under the walls of which the independent armies of Chili and Colombia, commanded by General Bolivar, have probably, at this very moment, consummated the grand work of the liberation of America, by the total annihilation of General Canterac's army.*

Be it as it may, we cannot conceal that this country meets with great obstacles on the road to its regeneration; that private ambitions have blazed out on all sides, and that, if, in order to put a stop to so many

we find an official account of the pay allowed to the different functionaries of the state, legislative as well as executive. The members of the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives are paid salaries, probably that they may not receive bribes. The allowance of it is six dollars a day. The President enjoys a salary of thirty thousand dollars a year, and the Vice-President eighteen thousand. The whole internal administration of the republic, including provincial as well as general expenses, costs Colombia half a million of dollars per annum, or about £100,000 sterling. Thus, the sums rated for the repairs of Windsor Castle, would have supported the government of Colombia, with its President, its Judges, and its subordinate agents and officers for three years.—*Times*.

* Vide in another part of this No. the article *Military Movements*.

calamities, the National Congress had not adopted the wise resolution of investing General Bolivar with the most extensive powers, it would be difficult to fathom the abyss into which anarchy, conjointly with the external enemies, would have hurled Peru.

Three distinct parties are still contending there for power, with advantages nearly equal at present. We may thus distinguish them: 1°. The partisans of absolute power; 2°. The constitutional royalists; 3°. The republicans.

The cause of this division may be traced back to the origin of the war. From the moment when the combined armies of Buenos-Ayres and Chili, commanded by General St. Martin, had penetrated into Peru, hatred on one side, and vengeance on the other, stamped on hostilities an extraordinary character of cruelty. The Spanish Vice-Roy Pezuela caused unheard-of barbarities to be committed on such populations as were suspected of being animated by a spirit of independence; and those populations, attacked in their dearest interests, defended themselves with that fury peculiar to despair. Partial revolutions broke out simultaneously in the provinces of Upper Peru, which soon became a perpetual scene of desolation.

The advocates for absolute power, as well as the partisans of constitutional doctrines, issued chiefly from the Spanish army, and their chiefs were generals of that army. Division soon broke forth among them: La Serna, General in Chief of the Spanish army under the orders of the Vice-roy Pezuela, could not contemplate without horror the barbarities which that Spanish Vandal every day committed. He prevented several acts of cruelty, and thereby became suspicious in the eyes of

the Vice-roy, who soon denounced him to the inquisition of Lima; the latter, with no less eagerness, laid an accusation against him. This step forced La Serna into that constitutional party, which secretly directed Upper Peru, and whose chief members were Generals Valdes, Canterac, and other Spaniards, whose liberal opinions were well known. In the mean time, the combined army of Rio de la Plata and Chili had advanced to the very gates of Lima, and the republican General St. Martin was about to obtain a definitive triumph. The constitutional party availed itself of that critical moment, to proclaim that it was all over with the Spanish army, if a man so unfit as Pezuela remained at the head of the government. That consideration drew into their party the most influencing royalists; Pezuela was dismissed and replaced in the Vice-royalty by La Serna. The latter, anticipating that this measure might be reprobated by the Spanish government, thought of surrounding himself by such supports as might not inspire him with any kind of fear. He, therefore, stripped Ramirez, a creature of Pezuela, of the command of the army, to confer it on General Valdes; he replaced Canterac and some other officers who were devoted to him, but he could not succeed in separating from its chief, the van-guard division of Olaneta, who, finding himself supported by the partisans of pure royalism, disobeyed all the express commands which had been given to him. La Serna was compelled to submit, and the republican general St. Cruz, having effected a descent on the southern coast, Valdes and Olaneta marched in concert to meet the republicans whom they equally detested; these retreated, Olaneta claimed the honour of the campaign, and laid a fresh plan for overthrowing

La Serna, against whom he always cherished the greatest rancour.

During this state of things, the intelligence of the total overthrow of the government of the Spanish Cortes and of the re-establishment of the King in all his power reached Peru. The decrees of Ferdinand VII. re-animated the royalist party in Peru, and Olaneta declared openly against La Serna, Canterac and Valdes, whom he denounced, in a proclamation, in the month of February, 1824, as so many factious subjects, who, sheltered by a vain phantom of liberty, wished to lay the foundation of their own grandeur on the ruins of the altar and the throne.

He, almost at the same time, began the campaign against the partisans of La Serna, from whom he took several strong places by main force, whilst this general, after having defeated St Cruz, was rapidly approaching Lima. This incident obliged La Serna to divide his forces, and to send General Valdes against Olaneta, with whom it is very probable that he has, by this time, had an engagement, the result of which, whatever it may be, must prove favorable to the cause of independence, defended by the combined army of St. Cruz and Bolivar. Such are the elements of the civil and external war, in which the three armies of La Serna, Olaneta, and Bolivar, are now engaged against each other; the first, for the defence of absolute power; the second, for a constitutional monarchical system; and the third, for the support of republican independence.

If, to the existence of these opposing parties we add that of the dissensions which are breaking out among them; if we reflect on the extraordinary con-

duct of the late President Riva Agüero, and on all the disorders which attended his dismissal, his imprisonment, and his exile; on the treacheries of General Taglo; on the violent dissolution of the Congress, and on all the imminent calamities which threatened the ancient empire of the Incas, with inevitable destruction, we shall be forced to own that Peru has adopted the only course which remained to be taken, that of investing with the dictatorial power the man who could secure its safety, by imposing silence on all parties by the superiority of his genius and the tried purity of his political principles.

With respect to the real end aimed at by the three parties which we have just mentioned, it seems that the constitutional royalists wish to do in Peru what O'Donoghue did in Mexico, namely, to erect that country into an independent empire, and to call to the throne a prince of the house of the Spanish Bourbons; and that the independents, ranged under the banners of the Congress and of Bolívar, are openly fighting for the consolidation of the republican government. As for La Serna and his satellites, it is useless to say that their only aim is the re-establishment of pure despotism.

MEXICO was the last of the Spanish colonies that shook off the yoke of the mother country. * War was ended there almost as soon as begun; and during its short duration, it never had for positive aim the defi-

* This circumstance is a formal denial given to the Eutopists, who assert that the example of the republican government of the United States has alone caused the insurrection of the Spanish colonies. Mexico is in immediate contact with the United States, and it was the last to rise up in arms!!

native extirpation the monarchical principle. This beautiful country, the richest and the most populous of the Spanish possessions, invited the King of Spain, or a prince of his family to come and reign over it, even long after having proclaimed its separation from Spain. Repulsed by its ancient sovereign, it flew into the arms of Iturbide, and it was only after having gone through a double monarchical trial, that it adopted the republican order which at present rules it. The confederation is composed of the provinces which, under the colonial system, formed the vice-royalty of New Spain. They have erected themselves into so many independent states, each of which has its Congress, its deputies, its political chiefs, its local taxes, its army and its military commander. All these provinces are confederated and submitted to a general Congress, composed of members of each of them.

Mexico never ceased to be a prey to factions and to intestine divisions from 1820, at which time all the provinces declared themselves independent of Spain, and united under the command of Iturbide, on whom they conferred the title of Emperor. The efforts of his rivals, and the discontent of the nation, soon overthrew the new monarch from a throne which, it must be confessed, he had ascended but by the means of a mock popular election; in 1823, Iturbide, divested by a solemn act, of the sovereign power, was constrained to retire to Europe; and executive powers, submitted to a collective Congress, took the reins of the Mexican government. Nevertheless the ex-emperor had left, in Mexico, partisans, recollections and regrets, by means of which it appears that he is at this mo-

ment striving to seize again a sceptre which, we believe, has escaped him for ever. Heaven grant that, victim of the ambition of others as much perhaps as of his own, he may not, by his second fall, cause the effusion of much human blood. Yet, whatever may be the result of his rash undertaking, we cannot conceal that, either through disaffection to the pure democratical government, or from the contending pretensions which have always subsisted between the divers states of the confederacy, he seems still to have preserved a considerable party in Mexico. The rich and populous province of Guadalajara, for instance, where a formidable insurrection lately broke out, has been, for upwards of one year since the abdication of Iturbide, a perpetual scene of plots and machinations. Quintanar, the governor of that state, and Bustamente, the military commander, kept fomenting jealousies against the supreme government, propagating schemes of independence, and favoring the designs and hopes of the emperor's friends. We are, however, far from thinking that those symptoms of rebellion are sufficient to insure the success of Iturbide's undertaking. This undertaking, which, from its beginning, was marked by equal imprudence and inability, has long since awakened the attention of the federative government, which has, no doubt, taken proper steps to render it abortive. We are informed that, nearly at the time when Iturbide left England, an expedition was preparing at Mexico, intended to frustrate all his hopes. Considerable forces marched to meet the military governor of Guadalajara, [or Xalisco] who, at the head of the provincial troops and of the partisans of Iturbide, was proceeding against the federative army, com-

manded by general Bravo, in whose hands he is now detained a prisoner of war, whilst Garcia, Rosemberg, and a few other imprudent friends of the proscribed emperor, were either killed on the field of battle, or shot as traitors. It may therefore be foretold with certainty, that the landing of Iturbide cannot be attended with any consequence likely to change the present political condition of Mexico.

However, as this event may be fruitful in incidents of the highest interest, we shall devote to it, in our succeeding Nos. the space and attention which the importance of its results may deserve. We shall, for the present, confine ourselves to a reflection which has no doubt already been made by every attentive observer of the progress of human societies, namely, that the sudden transitions from a colonial state to an empire, and from an empire to a federative republic, which events have taken place in Mexico within less than four years, sufficiently prove that the nation, perfectly a stranger to all the principles of a fixed policy, has been till now but the passive instrument of the authority *de facto*. We shall add, that one may reasonably fear that the constitution of a federative republic, which is composed of several independent states, naturally jealous of each other, and equally alarmed at the encroachment of general power, may still be too delicate and too complicated a machine for the people of Mexico.

CHILI, the ex-general captainry of that name, is situate between the Pacific Ocean and the long chain of the Andes or Cordilleras, which extends from the extremity of Patagonia to the Isthmus of Panama,

The revolution of that country dates from 1810, when the inhabitants of San Jago deposed the Spanish captain-general and appointed a junta, in order to establish a government suitable to the circumstances in which the colony was placed in consequence of the events which had taken place in the metropolis. If we except the battle of Mai-Po, in which the Viceroy of Peru was defeated by the independent army of Chili, and a few interior commotions caused by the election of its first Congress, we may say that the independence of that country, the most wholesome and the most agreeable in America, hardly cost it an appearance of war. Even now Chili enjoys perfect tranquillity; and if, as is asserted, the expedition which it had directed towards the island of Chiloe, has effected the conquest of that important point, the only one on those coasts that still remained in the power of the Spaniards, and the only one also where an expedition coming from Europe could land, Chili may hope to accomplish its regeneration and to consolidate in peace the republican institutions, which seem to meet, in that part of America, with less obstacles than in the other Spanish colonies. It is, however said, that the patriotic army of Chili, commanded by General Freyre, has encountered, in the expedition against Chiloe, a sharp resistance from the Spanish troops, who defended every inch of ground, and made him purchase dearly the conquest of that important position.

Humanity must, no doubt, deplore the blood spilt on that occasion; but the interest of Chili, as well as that of the general independence of America, must console it for the loss, comparatively light, which

the occupation of Chiloe has just occasioned. Once peaceably possessed of that point, there is no doubt but that Chili has united all its disponible forces to the army of Bolivar, in order to accomplish rapidly the delivery of Peru.

GUATIMALA, an independent state, situate between Mexico and Colombia, has been formed out of the dismembering of Mexico, under the name of *Central Republic*, and is composed of the provinces of Nicaragua, Honduras, San Salvador, Costarica, Guatemala, and Queseltenango. Three citizens are at the head of the provisionary government, at which they preside monthly by turns. Every thing denotes that those various provinces aim at obtaining a federative government after the model of that of the United States. There is not a single Spaniard in arms, in the whole extent of that territory; and if any one should appear, it is assured that the central Americans are now ready to oppose their enemies with a standing army of 1,600 men, and a militia of 80,000.

In the centre of this country is the great lake Nicaragua, which seems to be the most convenient point for effecting the long-wished-for passage from the South Sea to the Atlantic, which will avoid land carriage, and the dangerous navigation through the strait of Magellan. This circumstance alone may promise *Central America*, when freed from the Spanish yoke, the highest degree of prosperity.

BUENOS-AYRES has long been secure from any hostile measure of Spain, which, having no point contiguous to that country, to receive her fleets or equip her armies (a resource which, by the bye, she has little

need of) as she still possesses the Havannah, against Colombia and Mexico, must consider the provinces of the Rio de la Plata as irretrievably lost to her.

That portion of Spanish America was the first to throw off the colonial yoke, and which proved the most persevering as well as the most successful in the defence of its independence; and the wisdom of its internal administration, joined to the dignity and loyalty of its relations with the whole world, has long since proved that this country is worthy the liberty which it enjoys.

However, civil dissensions have caused frequent changes in the form of the government of those provinces. The partisans of a central government, and those of a federal union of the independent provinces, have preserved a hostile attitude till the moment when the direction of affairs was entrusted to the able hands of M. Rivadavia. The exaggerated pretensions of the province of Buenos Ayres have chiefly excited, at various times, the jealousy of the other provinces of the union, and even sometimes set them in arms. Those seeds of dissension were extirpated by the wisdom of the latter government; and it seems that, at this very moment, the only point in discussion is to determine which province shall be the seat of the National Congress, next session; every thing denotes that it will be Buenos-Ayres.

Though perfectly secure with respect to the western frontiers, the republic of Buenos-Ayres is not unmindful of the dangers with which the political dissensions and civil war which desolate Peru, may threaten, if not the independence, at least the tranquillity of its

western provinces. It has therefore adopted, at Salta, such military measures as may, in case of need, repulse all the attacks that might be made by the enemy's van-guard; and we learn from a sure source, that the government of Buenos-Ayres has addressed a circular letter to all the confederates, to engage them to send a contingent of men, for the organization, at Buenos-Ayres, of an army intended to act conjointly with that of Salta, for the common safety; and that in the plan adopted, a provision is made for remunerating every man who shall join the ranks for this object.*

PARAGUAY, situate on the river Parana, between Peru, Chili, and Brazil, forms an independent state,

* By the papers of Buenos Ayres of the 9th of June, we see another proof of the attention directed by the people of that country towards the events now taking place on their western frontier. The movements of Olaneta are there alluded to with great interest; but as no date is given, we can derive from the passage no precise knowledge of the state of affairs in Peru. The same paper informs us, that on the 4th of June the government of Buenos Ayres addressed a note to the Hall of Representatives, reminding them of the state of things in Europe and Peru, and pointing out to them the necessity of taking such steps as were calculated to secure their independence against all aggression. For this purpose, the government, after communicating with the Executive Power in Peru, Chili, and Colombia, had entered into an agreement with the governor of the province of Salta, to organize there a regular force, to act as the van-guard of a defensive army. The government of that province entered with zeal into the project. Arms and every kind of ammunition, were, in consequence of this agreement, to be supplied to Salta, besides a monthly allowance of 1,500 dollars. This not appearing sufficient, a regular force of three squadrons of cavalry were to be sent to Salta, and maintained at the expense of the general government. The Hall of Representatives sanctioned these and other measures for defending the republic on the side of Peru.

divided into six departments, viz. Santiago, Concepcion, Villareal, Curagnatia, Candelaria, and Assumption. This interesting country, the heart and garden of South America, whose inhabitants are considered as the happiest race in the southern hemisphere, separated itself from Spain, nearly at the same time as the other provinces which formed with it the ancient vice-royalty of La Plata. However, friends to peace; and wishing to avoid all the calamities attending civil war, the inhabitants of Paraguay availed themselves of their isolated position, to free themselves from all political co-existence with the other states of the same continent, in order never to be entangled in their quarrels. They adopted a political independence perfectly absolute, whose tranquillity, by an unheard-of good fortune, has never been disturbed by any commotions. Paraguay is now ruled by a government which might, without any metaphor, be called truly patriarchal, to the examination of which we intend shortly to devote a special article. We shall now merely point out a fact which alone characterizes the inhabitants and the government of that interesting country, viz. that the frequent overtures of Buenos-Ayres to enter into a general confederation of all the provinces formerly constituting the vice-royalty of the river Plata, have uniformly been rejected, from the principle that all engagements of such a nature could not fail to embroil Paraguay in those unhappy dissensions which have so long afflicted the contiguous districts.

Such are the new states that have sprung out of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies, in the New World. There is another, on which the yoke of Spain still lies heavy; but which cannot fail escaping from it

sooner or later; it is Havannah. The liberation of that country must consummate the destruction of the Spanish colonial power. Havannah is the port, dock, and arsenal of Spain in the New World; for from thence, and from thence only, she can still threaten Colombia and Mexico. But Havannah, which has no interest whatever in maintaining the Spanish authority, which is exposed to all the chances of her wars, which, by its position in regard to all the Spanish colonies now become independent, is irresistibly impelled towards liberty, will still be long before it falls into the general movement of America.

Thus, by the results to which the examination of every branch of the great American family had led us we have seen :

That its enfranchisement from Europe is not as erroneously pretended, the effect of accidental causes, but the result of an absolute necessity, and of the irresistible power of times which no human efforts can control :

That the opinions and sentiments of the newly-freed American states have already taken, or may be brought to take, the direction most favorable to universal peace, and to the welfare of mankind :

That the general movement impressed on the New World may still be directed, but never arrested by Europe :

In short, that America, notwithstanding the immensity of her losses, and the multitude of evils with which she is afflicted, possesses in the highest degree, either separately or collectively, all that is required to

constitute the welfare and grandeur of states. The elements of strength and prosperity exist: it is merely requisite to develop them wisely, and to impress on them a fixed and durable march.



HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

BRASIL.

PROCLAMATION.

Don Pedro, Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of the Empire of Brasil, to all the Subjects of the said Empire.

Brasilians!—The Lusitanian troops, with which the Jacobinical and Machiavelian Cortes of Portugal pretended to re-colonize this vast and rich country, having been expelled from the empire, and his most faithful Majesty being in a state in which he can freely act, and we having, as yet, in no respect exceeded the limits of just defence, it was to be expected that the Portuguese Government, being well advised and informed, and in no way misunderstanding the imperious reasons which compelled Brasil to raise the standard of independence, and also well aware of the universal and determined resolution of this brave people to defend their liberties to the last drop of their blood, would, instead of projecting chimerical plans of re-union and subjection, which are inadmissible and impracticable, rather seek to derive reasonable benefits from that very independence, than to attempt to subdue us ; and would, along with the olive-branch, offer us well-calculated and mutual commercial advantages,

solid guarantees of peace and of a perfect and durable friendship. Nothing of this kind has, however, occurred. The justice of our cause, already acknowledged by the tribunal of public opinion throughout the world, has not yet penetrated the hearts of some Portuguese ministers, who are either wilfully blind, or fascinated by ambition. The tribunal to which they propose to appeal is the fate of arms: they wish for war, without utility or object.

It is long since we have heard reports of military expeditions from Portugal against this empire; and though the knowledge of our just rights, and the equity and wisdom which we presumed were still to be found in the councils of his most Faithful Majesty, gave to those reports the character of improbability, I have always quietly, and without ostentation, taken care to adopt such measures as were suited to the existing situation of the empire, for the purpose of repelling any attack which might be made on this capital, or on the other provinces. Now, however, since Portugal has thrown off the mask, and the last Lisbon Gazettes plainly speak of an expedition against Brasil being soon to sail from the port of that capital, it becomes my duty, as your Emperor and perpetual defender, ~~thus~~ publicly to call your attention to this important object.

What would they wish us—those infatuated ministers, who urge his Most Faithful Majesty to take so violent a course! Would they re-colonize us? What insanity! Would they give the law to us, offering us, with lighted matches and fixed bayonets, a nominal independence, founded on artfully organized bases? Gross error; miserable policy. Would they tear me from amongst you, and have me to leave you abandoned to all the horrors of anarchy? That is what they never shall accomplish.

To arms, Brazilians!—INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH is our motto. Your Emperor and Perpetual Defender, who, as you know, abhors and despises the ease and pleasures of

the throne, is about to take the field, to unsheath the sword, and once more swear that he is ready to die with it in his hand amidst the brave Brazilian legions. Assist him, hasten to him, rally around him, and victory will be certain. He regrets that he cannot multiply himself so as to be present at every point which may be attacked, and to participate with you in every danger and in every glory ; but he has full confidence in your valour and patriotism.

Courage, Brazilians !—Prevent, as far as possible, the enemy from setting foot on your territory. If that cannot be done, abandon to him your desert cities and towns. Retire to the interior, entrench yourselves there, cut him off from all communication, and be assured that, left to depend upon feeble, uncertain, tardy re-enforcements from distant Portugal, he will be reduced to a state of the greatest wretchedness, while our squadrons, recruited and strong, will fly to your succour at the proper moment, and complete his disgraceful expulsion—a fate you have already seen him experience at Bahia and Monte Video. Numerous cruisers are about to traverse the seas, to give the last blow to the expiring commerce of Portugal ; and thus to teach that deluded government to respect our right to independence, the path to which has been opened to us by the ambition and tyranny of our enemy.

Do not be alarmed by the boasting accounts of immense squadrons and multitudes of combatants said to be coming against us ; however great their force, incomparably greater is the ground which they will have to occupy—incomparably greater are the resources which we can oppose to them, and the slightest reflection must serve to reduce such exaggerations to their true value. A line of operations, commencing in the Tagus, and extending to any point on our coast, directed against a people able and willing to defend themselves, is an act of military lunacy, the unhappy result of which to the unhappy attacking enemy may for a

time be retarded, but is infallible. To maintain European squadrons and armies constantly on the footing of war in our trans-Atlantic regions, has always been, and is, for the most powerful nations, difficult; but for Portugal, is now impossible. Call to your recollection how many of such attempts have been unsuccessfully made by the old world against the new, and you will find this truth confirmed.

Are you told that powerful European nations will assist in this enterprise? Do not believe it. Those nations know too well their true interests to take any part in a contest which is foreign to them, and the obvious justice of the independence which we defend cannot fail to give a right direction to their wise and enlightened policy.

But vigilance, Brazilians! valour, constancy, and above all, internal union amongst yourselves! And the God of armies, the fountain of all justice, will bless our legitimate efforts for the preservation of that liberty and independence which it is the will of providence that all the nations of the earth should possess. Under its powerful auspices you will see waving on your walls the victorious flag of independence, and our squadrons will even penetrate into the mouth of the Tagus, to teach justice and moderation to that infatuated Government.

THE EMPEROR.

Rio de Janeiro, June 10, 1824—third
year of independence.



PROCLAMATION

To the People of Pernambuco.

Pernambucans!—The moment has arrived when the veil of imposture in which you have hitherto been enveloped by demagogues, the enemies of the empire, and of your real

happiness, will fall to the ground. To betray your good faith, to inflame your imaginations, and to entrap you blindly into political systems, which the lessons of experience prove to be absolutely incompatible with your present situation, and to promote their own interests in separating you from the general union of the provinces, so indispensable to the consolidation and security of our independence, they have attempted to persuade you, that a faction, sold to Portugal, controlled the political operations of this empire, with the view of subjecting it to the old dominion of the Portuguese, and the despotism of their government. So profound has been the impression produced by this atrocious calumny, on the minds of credulous persons, zealous for the preservation of their rising liberties, that notwithstanding the many decided proofs to the contrary, they are not yet entirely undeceived. But the moment has arrived when the illusion will completely vanish.

The Portuguese government, which is doubtless ruled by a few ambitious or incompetent ministers, having neglected the opportunity which our moderation and prudence afforded for negotiating an advantageous and permanent peace with this empire, and perhaps, still influenced by the old habit of despotically controlling the fate of this population, has conceived that the speediest and most effectual mode of gaining their object will be by force of arms; and according to the latest Lisbon Gazettes, an expedition is preparing to sail for this country. The empire has determined to take up arms to repel this unjust and useless aggression, and your Emperor, the perpetual defender, faithful to the obligations he has contracted with you, is about to head the brave troops of Brasil, and to prove that the glorious title in which he so highly prides himself, is not a mere empty sound. Having perfectly identified himself with the Brazilian people, he is resolved to share their fate, whatever it may be. His

interest, happiness, and glory do, and always will correspond with those of the Brazilian people; and he will never sheath his sword until every portion of the empire equally enjoys independence and freedom.

Pernambucans! What precious time has been lost! What immense sacrifices have been made to deliver you from the manœuvres of the anarchical demagogues who have desolated so many of these fine provinces! What would have become of the insolent enemy who now threatens us, if our forces had been constantly united! If instead of weakening by internal divisions so important a point of the empire, you had rallied round the common centre of union, like the other provinces. Would the enemy have dared to attack us if he had not calculated on deriving advantage from your fatal disunion? Would he have dared to attack us if from the Amazons to the Rio de la Plata we had presented to him one solidly united mass, one uniform resistance, directed by a well-combined general plan? Certainly not.

Thus, then, being ignorant of the point to which the enemy's forces may be directed, and it being imperiously necessary to secure against invasion the capital of the empire, as on it essentially depends the salvation of all the provinces, it becomes indispensable to concentrate at this spot the whole of our maritime force. But what pain does not my paternal heart feel at finding, that instead of sufficiently augmenting the force on your station to assist you in defending yourselves against the foreign enemy, I am obliged to withdraw it. However, be not disheartened, Pernambucans! Put an end to the hatred and internal dissensions which divide and distract you. Unite, with heart and good-will, for the common defence, and you will find in your soil and your valour infinite resources against the foreign enemy, who cannot long maintain himself in these remote regions. Never think of capitulation with such unjust aggressors; but rely upon it, that the

capital being defended, to whatever point the enemy may direct his attack, thither will our land and sea forces be sent to its succour. Pernambucans! Have courage, constancy, and above all things, internal union, and the enemy will be overcome.

THE EMPEROR.



PROCLAMATION

Issued at Pernambuco by the President Carvalho.

Inhabitants of the Northern Provinces of Brasil!—Providence, which constantly watches over our felicity, continues to arrange every thing for our more readily obtaining it. His imperial and constitutional Majesty is not satisfied with despotically and insolently dissolving the sovereign constituent and legislative assembly of Brazil—with attacking in this manner the national sovereignty in the august persons of the representatives—he has endeavoured to divide us, and to instigate the king of Portugal to make an attack on our fire-sides. Now, after involving us in a war which, notwithstanding we are certain of victory, is most unjust and iniquitous—Brazilians, who would imagine it?—after exposing us to the bayonets and the cannon of the Portuguese, his imperial and constitutional majesty has ordered all his forces to repair to the capital for the sole defence of his own person, and he has abandoned those who elevated him to the throne, and placed the imperial crown on his head. Brazilians! the Emperor leaves us to ourselves. What, then, remains for us to do? Let us unite for our common safety; let us establish a supreme and truly constitutional government, charged with our defence and security. Brazilians! let us unite, and we will be invincible.

MANUEL DE CARVALHO PAES D'ANDRADE,
President.

Pernambuco, Palace of the Government,
July 2d, 1824.

COLOMBIA.

Message of the Vice-President of Colombia charged with the government of the Congress of 1824.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the chamber of Representatives,

The present Congress meets under more favorable auspices than the former. Last year the enemy still occupied some important posts in the Republic, from whence, spreading alarm to the neighbouring departments, he redoubled the efforts of his power to gain a fortunate blow, to which the machinations of the disaffected, whom we generously tolerate in our territory, might contribute. Happily their enterprises were checked, and their projects have only served to consolidate the public opinion, and to give additional lustre to the glory of Colombia. You come to deliberate for the benefit of our constituents, in the tranquil days which providence has granted us, by the constant sacrifices of the Colombian people and army. As uncertain as may be the continuation of the present calm, the Executive feels itself animated with the most lively pleasure, to present to you a faithful picture of the Republic, and to offer you the ideas which experience has furnished, persuaded that you will never have a greater field than in this session, to employ with success your patriotism and talents.

The Government of his Catholic Majesty persists in its ancient scheme of disavowing the justice of our emancipation, and the power which has placed the Republic upon the level of independent states. The Cortes of Cadiz, in its last gasp denied the recognition of the new American States, insisting upon the measure of sending commissioners out who

might hear our petition. The Executive had no knowledge of the commission relative to Colombia, and attributes it to the explicit declaration made to Congress in the former message, not to bear or admit any negotiation on the part of the government of Spain which should not have for its basis the firm acknowledgment of our national sovereignty. Notwithstanding, the Executive has not let pass an occasion or favorable juncture to persuade the Spanish Government that we are ready to forget our grievances, to put an end to the war, and to promote the happiness and prosperity of both nations; but the catastrophe which the present regime in the Peninsula has just suffered, reduces us to the extremity of not expecting any thing but by the force of arms. The king (Ferdinand) has been restored to absolute power by the aid of a French army, to which the Spaniards themselves afforded assistance. His official acts as far as regard the new American States, show clearly that he intends to renew the war, to subject us to the ancient odious servitude of Spain. If the Executive does not doubt the views of the Cabinet of Madrid, neither does it doubt that the forces which the Republic will oppose to it will be of such a nature as, in the end, to save its independence, its government, and its laws. Congress has a very essential study in completing our defence, by granting to the Executive the means of preserving the external and internal tranquillity of the republic; and I hope that your first labours will forward so important an object; and for that purpose I refer to my communication of the 9th of May last.

Our relations with the government of America, have taken growth and consistency. The military situation of Peru has carried our warriors to that country; and the President, the Liberator, using the permission of Congress, has undertaken the task of leading them on to victory. The presence of the Liberator in Peru has contributed strongly to save the state from the terrible calamities of civil war. The

confidence which the Peruvian Government and people have reposed in the Liberator is a happy presage of their liberty, and there is no doubt, if, on our part, we furnish other auxiliaries, the war of Peru will terminate favorably, and the fate of South America remain secured. The succour which the republic has granted to Peru exceeds its obligation by the treaty of alliance which the Executive, with your consent and approbation, ratified; but as the geographical position of that state indentifies itself with the lot of Colombia, prudence tells us, that in Peru we are acting in our own defence. The Peruvian Congress has ratified, without alteration, the treaty of alliance and amity with the Republic, and the Chilean Congress will have ratified theirs with the same modifications. The treaty entered into with the government of Buenos Ayres will be presented for your examination and approval, along with that made with the government of Mexico, if, in proper time, they arrive in the capital. All these treaties have completed the American Confederation which the government of Colombia undertook to form, to give stability to the independence of the New World: and as such an important project has commenced to produce in Europe the effects which we foresaw, the Executive will not rest until it sees the united Congress of Plenipotentiaries of the new American government.

The political situation of Mexico is very different to what it was last year. The Mexican people and army, excited against the administration of their chief, Iturbide, re-established the authority of the Congress, dethroned and banished that personage to Europe. This event may have eradicated all the monarchical principles which had been proclaimed, and will serve as the basis of a popular representative government. The new Mexican government marches along this path with energy and firmness. Its measures to re-unite the Congress, prohibit trade with subjects of the Spanish Government, blockade the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, and expel the disaffected

from its territories, sufficiently demonstrate it. The provinces of the old Captain-Generalship of Guatemala have organized an independent state ; and for its first act, it is known that it has adopted the popular representative system. Some people of its jurisdiction sought refuge in Colombia, in the epoch of the agitation of the imperial government ; but, as the Executive ought not to countenance the disorganization of the other states, or to extend the territory of the Republic against its fundamental law, I limited myself to interpose our good offices with the government of Mexico in their favour, and I offered an inviolable asylum to persecuted patriots. This occasion appears to me favorable to declare, that the government of Colombia never has adopted the pernicious doctrine of interfering in the internal affairs of other independent states.

The residence, in this capital, of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, will afford us the means of strengthening the relations of amity which exist between the two governments, and to favour the interests of the republic. The Minister of Colombia was received in Washington with the consideration which his character, and the identity of the principle of both nations, ought to exact. The President of the United States has signalized his administration with an act eminently just, and worthy of the classic land of liberty. In his last message to Congress, he has declared that he looks upon any interference of any European power, directed to oppress or violate the destinies of the independent governments of America, as a manifestation of hostile dispositions towards the United States. That government considers any attempt on the part of the Allied Powers to extend their system to any portion of the American hemisphere, as dangerous to the peace and security of the before-mentioned state. A similar policy of the human race might give to Colombia a powerful alliance, in case its independence and liberty were threatened by the Allied Powers. The Executive, which

cannot be indifferent to the turn which the politics of the United States have taken, is occupied efficaciously in reducing the question to definitive and decisive points. The republic of Colombia cannot be accused of any thing by the Allied Powers; she and her government have highly respected the rights of Sovereigns, and those of their subjects. Ready to open to all nations the fountain of her national rights, she does not require any other obligation than that they respect her independence and her institutions. But if an evil genius should raise up new enemies, time will prove that the government and the Colombians have sufficient patriotism to make the most costly sacrifices for our independence and liberty. In a mercantile view, I have managed to clear of difficulties our relations with the United States, and the protection of our commerce, by means of the appointment of consuls and agents, and publishing and observing scrupulously our laws and statutes.

The Executive had directed its relations to Europe, with Great Britain particularly, whose politics appear favorable to the cause of South America, and whose commercial relations have been more extensive and active. The sympathy of the opinion of the British public and its government inspire the Executive with the most flattering hopes. I am sorry that I cannot communicate to you what may be the ultimate resolution of the government of his Britannic Majesty with respect to the Republic. A commissioner from the English government is now actually in this capital, from whom we have received satisfactory proofs of the interest with which our state inspires the mind of the magnanimous people of England. The security which it has given us against the rumour that France will assist in the war, which Spain intends to begin anew, to reduce us to her obedience, places us in a situation of not fearing such an occurrence. The Executive, as well as the republic, have highly estimated their declarations; and I can assure the Congress, that in the progress of

the negotiation which may come on the carpet, I will not lose sight of the dignity of the government, nor of the interest of the Colombian people. If the union of the physical and moral power of the independent states of America, the order and regularity of our association, respect to the law, uniformity of opinion, the progress of learning, and the adherence of the government to the path prescribed by our fundamental laws, ought to weigh in the political balance of nations, we ought to hope, with entire confidence, that neither Great Britain nor the other powers will disavow the power and moral force which the republic of Colombia has acquired to put herself, upon a level with them. I am determined to take advantage of any favorable opportunity to extend our relations with other Powers whose friendship can be of sufficient interest and utility to the republic.

The negotiations with the Apostolical Chair being still depending, the Executive continues to experience the difficulties which I announced to Congress last session; and I have to beg you anew to adopt some certain regulation to avoid the prejudices which we suffer. It is probable that the Apostolical Chair may accede to the solicitations of the Executive, for the benefit of the spiritual necessities of the republic.

I feel the greatest satisfaction in informing Congress that the republic is extended to all the territory which the fundamental law fixed. In all its vast extension there does not remain even a relict of the expeditionary Spanish army, and the constitution and the laws have fixed in it their empire. Only a few men of the canton of Pasto have wished to live by disorder, and the government has been obliged to resort, with pain, to employ arms to crush this bud of dissension.

Public education has had an increase this year in the establishment of new schools and colleges. That this important branch of common felicity may be extended, it is necessary to leave it to the work of time, for neither can the people

support the amount of contribution for education, having still to contribute towards the stability of their independence, nor have we sufficient preceptors. If the Congress authorizes the Executive to appropriate a sum from the public treasury for the purpose, and sanctions the general plan of studies that I presented last session, as according to its wisdom it may deem applicable to the circumstances, I believe that its progress will not be doubtful.

Few objects merit so much the attention of Congress as the administration of justice. In this branch the people suffered much, as much from the judicial districts being very extensive, the superior tribunals being placed at great distances, as the complication and contrariety of Spanish legislation present doubts, delays, and even injustice. I know well that the absolute reform of civil and criminal legislation is not the work of one session ; but I am convinced that this present Congress can begin this important reform, separating it from the cognizance of the Intendant and Governors, the contentious parties of Justice and State, multiplying the courts of justice as our actual situation points out, organizing them on a more simple and economical scale than those of the three judicial districts, and approving of the penal code which has been presented with those alterations which your wisdom and experience believe useful to the happiness of the Colombians.

The administration of justice, public order, and the welfare of the people, our constituents require a quick reform in, although it be only provisional in the territorial division of some departments and provinces, more particularly in the south. Although this matter supposes exact data, without which it would be difficult to accomplish a division beneficial to the people, it will not be prejudicial that Congress make an essay of what I point out.

The laws relative to the naturalization of strangers, privileges of navigation, alienation of uncultivated lands, have begun to be executed, and offer us fundamental hopes of con-

tributing strongly to the prosperity of the republic. Four hundred thousand fanegradas of uncultivated lands, in different provinces, have been alienated in virtue of the law of the 7th of June. The Executive will pass to the Congress the applications of the privilege of steam-boats in the Lake of Maracaibo, the Frith of Guayaquil, and coast of the Pacific; and, as I do not doubt the good success of them, we may flatter ourselves that it will be of infinite consideration to the improvement the republic will receive in its internal productions and commercial relations.

The constitutional organization has continued progressing with regularity. All the authorities have endeavoured to observe the Bill of Rights of the Colombian people, and if the difficulties which war, in a country so fatigued with its ravages, throws in its way, have forced me to use the extraordinary prerogatives which the law grants me, I have never exercised it of my own accord, nor longer than danger warranted it. The regularity of our political career ought to be particularly satisfactory to us, and the respect that we profess to the Constitution, has inspired civilized nations with a very favorable idea of the republic; and we have still to hope for events of greater importance to our security, dignity, and power.

The national fund will be for some time an object of serious meditations, and unfruitful, and perhaps prejudicial essays. To create a national fund in a country impoverished by the political regimen of old government and laws, wasted by a long and disastrous war, cannot be the work but of peace, of experience, and their lapse of time. The Congress can infer from these principles, and those they heard last session, what have been the afflictions the Executive has experienced in the course of the year, and to what an extraordinary degree have been the efforts employed to drive the enemy from our territory, or to give solidity to the republic. I confess, with the most lively pleasure, that without the pure patriotism of

the Colombian people, and without the heroic sufferings of our warriors, we should not have come off victorious in the struggle. Although the resources which the last Congress afforded have not yet been realized, counting upon them, I have made bold to have recourse to other means to facilitate the course of administration. I trust that the Congress will lend its authority, that the executive may fulfil its promises, and comply with the arduous and important duties the Constitution imposes.

I esteem it for the bettering of the national Treasury to change the system of administration and direction of the revenue. A Chancellor of the Exchequer's office, stationed at the seat of government, will facilitate the administration of finance, as well as an establishment of departmental exchequers, where the accounts are to be presented as early as possible for their revision, and to be audited. This regulation contemplates the abolition of the Accomptant-General, the same offices in the departmental treasuries; which saving will be sufficient for the expense of the new offices. The Congress will receive a separate plan, which will develop this idea.

I return again to recommend to Congress the organization of the tobacco monopoly. This branch of revenue, receiving the support which may be expected, is, in my opinion, to increase the payment of the interest of the foreign national debt, at the same time producing an acknowledged benefit to the cultivators. The Executive has issued orders to apply the product of this revenue to a considerable part of the loan decreed by Congress; and it only remains that the loan may be organized and its administration made uniform, leaving to the Executive sufficient authority to follow the influence of circumstances, which may be variable during the recess of the Legislature. The revenue of tithes, which, above providing for the clergy, affords to the republic some resource, requires also uniformity in its administrative regimen,

and a check upon the clandestine inversion of its product. The direct contribution, although the most congenial to a liberal system, is involved with obstacles and difficulties which have occupied the vigilance of the legislative body. Its entire reform appears necessary, reducing it to terms less confused and odious, and more productive. I feel the same on the other laws on indirect contributions. The tax of one dollar on each mark of gold for the national museum ought not to exist: the product of this contribution, compared with the deficit which results from the clandestine extraction of metals in bars or dust, which it causes, is so little, that it ought to be done away with.

The department of the post-office ought to occupy the attention of Congress. The boundaries of the republic are immense, and whilst the use of steam-boats and good roads shorten the distance, the posts ought to facilitate the communication among all the citizens, and between them and the government. This revenue ought not only to accomplish such important objects, but will be productive to the national treasury. I think I do not deceive myself by being sure, that by improving our actual revenue, it will be sufficient for our ordinary expenses, when once we have paid for the rudiments of war which we possess, and the army be placed on the peace establishment.

There is not time to know the result of the operations of the Executive in arranging and settling the loan of March, 1822. The interested in it have protested against the law of the 1st of July; but as the Executive has endeavoured to fulfil the views of Congress and the wishes of the friends of Colombia, I hope to terminate this business to the satisfaction of the parties interested, and to facilitate the negotiation of the new loan. Then we shall have given a noble example of the good faith of the government, and establish the credit of the republic. Posterity will not have to blame us with hav-

ing uselessly burdened it with a superfluous debt to satisfy fictitious necessities. No ; to posterity we will leave our country and liberty.

I now come to speak of the glories of the army of Colombia. On the 6th of August the city of Maracaibo was restored to the republic, after various successes to our arms, particularly in the glorious naval combat of the 24th. of July. The chiefs to whom the Executive gave the direction of the sea and land forces corresponded exactly well with the hopes of the republic ; and in virtue of the instructions which they had granted to the general of the enemy, a capitulation, the merit and generosity of which cannot be denied by the Spaniards themselves. Scarcely had the republic congratulated itself with the triumph of the army of the Zulia, when its attention was called to the acquisition of Puerto Cabello, on the 6th of November, in a manner which will always reflect honour on the army of the department of Venezuela and its chief. This post had constantly resisted the forces of the republic, and in it the enemy had established a rallying point for their operations. Since Puerto Cabello unfurled the Colombian banner, Venezuela has been restored to tranquillity, and actual war is concluded. The Executive has not seen with indifference these successes in the decrees which will be presented to Congress. I have preserved the recollection and approbation which they have deserved from the republic and government.

The army of Colombia, which has made war to conquer peace, independence, and liberty, to whose constant and eminent-service the republic owes its tranquillity, whose arms are the strong shield which defends the constitution—this army, as much the friend of independence as of liberty—such sufferers in privations, as well as valorous in the field of battle, deserve laws to preserve them from oppression and vexations, and to secure to them a decent subsistence, to open the door to honour, to favour them with jus-

tice in the distribution of their rewards, and that their families may not be forgotten after death. These laws I ask from the Congress of Colombia, entirely possessed with the confidence that the legislation of the republic feel as sensibly as the Executive the eminent service of the defenders of its independence and liberty.

Our small force of marines, a very important part of the army, has accomplished important services, and will always achieve the like, if they are placed on the footing once before I said they ought to be. Some obstacles have presented themselves in attaining this ; but I have confidence that they will be overcome by the wisdom of your laws of organization, and the constancy of the Executive. The secretary of marine will inform you of the use I have made of the authority granted by the law of the 1st of July. I hope that the Congress, bringing before them the memorials which the secretaries of correspondence presented by my order last sessions, may turn their attention to the object therein described. They provide abundant matter for the representatives to employ their talents and experience in favour of the heroic people, our constituents, whose favorable votes we may be sure of while we devote ourselves to their happiness and tranquillity.

On finishing this picture, I ought to confess that my heart is full of bitterness to see that I have not been able to do all the benefit for the public which my conscience dictates to me. It is to your talent and your power that it is left to fill Colombia with prosperity, and correct the errors which I may have involuntarily made in the course of my administration. It serves me, however, as a comfort to present you Colombia free for the first time from her enemies, admitted into the society of nations, tranquil in its interior, and rigidly adherent to the constitution. Under such auspices you have the most precious opportunity to open the fountains of public prosperity, and to reciprocate the confidence which the nation has

placed in you. Count upon the promptitude of the Executive in the observance and perfection of your deliberations, and of its absolute consecration to the well-being and security of the republic.

FRANCISCO DE P. SANTANDER.

Bogota, April 6, 1824.

PERU.

PROCLAMATION

Issued by General La Serna, on receiving intelligence from Spain of Ferdinand's restoration.

Don Jose de la Serna, Lieutenant-General of the Armies, Viceroy of Peru, &c.

The sacrifices of every kind which are making, and have been made, by the generals, chiefs, officers, troops, and other meritorious persons, for the defence and maintenance of his Majesty's rights, are notorious in these countries. No less notorious is the circumspection with which I have proceeded in executing the laws of the constitutional system, since, in conformity with my proclamation of the 11th of April, 1822, many of those laws remain unfulfilled. I doubt whether those who now boast of being anti-constitutional, would in my place have ventured on such marked violations and modifications, when the constitution was ostensibly protected and recommended by the king himself; but as I do not make a parade of this, nor of any thing else, except of having performed my duty in preserving this territory to the king and

the nation, I pass over in silence many things, of which others would make a merit ; and shall only say that I would with pleasure have announced and ordered the abolition of the constitutional system before receiving the original and direct orders from his Majesty, had the laws and fundamental practices permitted me so to do ; and if I had not feared that the accounts which have appeared in the enemy's papers, and Spanish papers, re-printed in countries occupied by the enemy, were fabricated. The delay in receiving the King's orders obliged me to issue a proclamation to the Peruvians on the 5th of February, and to address to them on the 5th of the present month the two questions which appear in my circular, published in the Gazette, No. 45. But as Major General Don Geronimo Valdes, commanding the army of the South, in consequence of my powers and instructions, thought it absolutely necessary to abolish the constitutional system in the provinces south of the Desaguadero, on account of the premature and illegal proceeding of the insubordinate and disorderly General Olaneta, who had of his own authority abolished the constitution in Charcas and Potosi, it would not have been consistent with my duty to tolerate the monstrous inconsistency of countries under the same supreme government being administered by opposing systems ; and it being imperiously necessary to remove every embarrassment opposed to the preservation of order, the security of Peru, and the conquest of the last remains of the enemy, I have thought fit to declare and decree as follows :—

1. Conformably to article 1st of the royal decree, purporting to be dated in Puerto de Santa Maria, October 1, 1823, and transmitted to me by General Olaneta, in a printed paper without date, place, or imprint, the authenticity of which is therefore uncertain ; are null and of no value all the acts of the government called constitutional, (of whatever class or kind those acts may be), which has governed the Spanish people from the 7th of March until this day, because

during the whole of that period the King our Lord, being deprived of his liberty, was obliged to sanction laws and authorize orders, decrees, and regulations, which were contrary to his will, prepared and expedited by the said constitutional government.

[2. This and other articles to art. 9, farther quotes the decree of Puerto de Santa Maria ; after which rejoicings are ordered, the troops are required to take a new oath of fidelity to Ferdinand, the constitutional stone to be removed from the places in which it is erected, &c.]

9. Though, in consequence of this proceeding, the first question which I proposed on the 5th current appears to be determined, nevertheless an opinion shall be given upon it conformably to what the laws prescribe, in order that the same may be in all times manifest. On this question, and on the second, the report required in my before-mentioned circular is expected with all possible expedition.

10. Should the Sovereign be displeased with these measures on account of their being premature, and destructive of what is ordered and usually practised even in inferior and detached objects and matters of infinitely less weight and importance than the change of the system of the monarchy, it is to be hoped that his Majesty will direct all his indignation against General Olaneta, who, by depriving me of the pleasure and the glory of proclaiming the triumph of the sacred and primitive right of the crown in the time and form prescribed, has rendered necessary the illegal and prejudicial anticipation of this act, for the important purpose of maintaining the unity and good order of the provinces entrusted to my direction and care.

11. Under these circumstances, I flatter myself that the inhabitants of Peru will give me a renewed proof of their exemplary subordination, by paying a blind obedience to the present proclamation, in which there is no necessity to insert

any penalty for causing it to be respected, as I do not apprehend that it will be contravened by a single individual.

A competent number of copies of this proclamation must be printed, and circulated by the principal authorities; the same is required to be made public here, and in all other places, with the greatest possible pomp and solemnity.

JOSE DE LA SERNA.

EULOGIO DE SANTA CRUZ,

Secretary, ad interim, to the Viceroy.

Given at Cuzco, this 11th of March, 1824.



PROCLAMATION

Issued by Bolivar, on assuming the Dictatorship of Peru.

Peruvians!—The disasters of the army and the contentions of parricidal parties, have reduced Peru to the lamentable condition of having recourse to the tyrannical power of a Dictator to preserve it.

The Constitutional Congress has confided to me this odious authority, which I could not have refused without treason to Colombia and to Peru, intimately connected by the bonds of justice, liberty, and national interest.

I should have preferred never to have come to Peru, and I should even have preferred your loss itself to the odious title of Dictator. But Colombia was compromised, and I could not hesitate.

Peruvians!—Your chiefs, your internal enemies, have calumniated Colombia, her brave defenders, and myself. They say that we intend to usurp your rights, your territory, and your independence. I declare to you, in the name of Colombia, and by the oath of the liberating army, that my authority

shall not exceed the time indispensably requisite to prepare ourselves for victory—that at the moment the army leaves the provinces which it now occupies, you shall be constitutionally governed by your own laws and your own magistrates.

Peruvians!—The field of battle, which will be a witness of the valour of our soldiers and the triumph of your liberty—that fortunate field shall see me throw from my hands the dictatorship; and from that field I and my brothers in arms, having given you liberty, will return to Colombia without taking a grain of sand from Peru.

BOLIVAR.

General order, Truxillo March 11, 1824.

MEXICO.

PROCLAMATION

Of the Supreme Executive Power of the Mexican Federation to the Nation.

Standing in the elevated situation in which, without merit or claim on our own parts, we have been placed, and taking from that height a view of the existing circumstances of the nation, we cannot refrain from congratulating ourselves on recognizing that the system ultimately adopted is in general prosperous; and that, with the exception of the occurrences and accidents which proceed from the want of practice and experience, we observe in the conduct of nearly all the states, a basis of sincerity, knowledge, and right intention, which announces and promises that this form of government will finally be consolidated amongst us, notwithstanding the

obstacles and impediments which are yet opposed to it in different points of the federation.

In fact, there unfortunately exists amongst us a portion of men, who are born enemies of republicanism; who are incapable of being reconciled, or of making peace with any thing but that despotism in which they place all their hopes; and for the restoration of which they indefatigably labour, and who would erect their throne of iron and ignominy on the tomb of Freedom. Collected on different points, they form at each a focus of hostility and re-action against the system by which we are governed. They contrive and modify plans, and even seductive plans, but all destructive of order and liberty. They send forth artful agents, who traverse the states to make proselytes, and to concert with men of their own sort. Finally, they circulate printed papers and manuscripts, more or less calumnious, for the purpose of throwing discredit on the principal authorities and officers of the government.

Fortunately for the republic, the plans of these men have been opportunely discovered and hitherto defeated; but, animated by an inveterate hatred against every thing wearing the character of liberty, and pledged to prosecute their designs at all risks, they have by a last effort succeeded in complicating to a certain degree their interests with those of opposing parties; thus dexterously forming, for a certain time, an alliance with the enemies of their views and projects. Accordingly, we have recently seen them interspersed among those who have for their subject of declamation, that the present system and our independence are in danger. In this way the friends, the partisans, and strenuous promoters of the late empire are suddenly converted into zealous patriots, active republicans, and decided federalists.

Fellow-citizens,—It is your liberty is aimed at—against it all the malignant shafts are directed. The design is to root it out from your soil. Your independence, indeed, though

constantly opposed, was never less menaced than now—not for want of good will on the other side of the Atlantic, but because the obstacles to the accomplishment of that purpose are constantly increasing. If we thought there were danger of being again enslaved by our former oppressors, would we not have solemnly announced that danger to the nation? Would not the cry of alarm have resounded throughout the whole of Anahuac? Would you not have already called for contributions and extraordinary resources, in order that we might assume an imposing attitude against any invader? No, fellow-countrymen, it is not invasion which the inexorable enemies of public order who live amongst us dread. It is true they proclaim that apprehension: under that pretext they intrigue, alarm, and conspire. We repeat, they do not now fear becoming the victims of Spain, but they would be glad to see the empire re-established. They do not dread foreign despotism, but they are willing to introduce and set up a domestic tyranny. They are not afraid being tied to the car of Ferdinand, but they would gladly see enthroned the idol to which they look for their own aggrandizement. Do not imagine that it is the public good which excites them; private interest is their ruling principle; it carries them away and makes them lose all self-control.

Such is the impulse by which these men are urged into unbridled licence against the government. Such is the stimulus which instigates them to spare no calumny, however gross and ridiculous, in attacking it—calumnies by which they hope to bring the government into disesteem, and deprive it of moral force, being aware that if distrust could be excited in the people, disaffection would follow. Hence they wish for confusion, dissension, or a convulsion—in a word, a civil war; in order, in the violence of the conflict, when parties should be most bitterly irritated against each other, to present suddenly the tyrant as a saviour—as a point for rallying around, in the same manner as persons sinking are glad to catch at

any thing by which they may hope to escape the threatened danger.

For our own part, it has been our good fortune never to have had any intercourse with the enemies of our country. Since the event of Dolores, we have constantly been in the ranks of freedom and independence. Called to govern, we have governed under the law. Some of us have at different times descended from the supreme command to obey blindly as the lowest soldier. If these pledges are not sufficient, who can present better claims to confidence? Can those who, from motives of ambition and interest are constantly conspiring? Can the chiefs and agents of the imperial government, who lacerate the bowels of their country, whose conduct disgraces the nation in the eyes of foreigners, and who by their agitations and re-actions do all they can to weaken Anahuac, and to invite its ancient dominators to make it again their prey?

Fellow-citizens,—You who wish to have a country, and that that country should prosper and maintain an honourable name, awaken; do not allow yourselves to be taken by surprise. On the one hand, you have the Sovereign National Congress, the Congresses of the respective states, men at the head of the government who have never abandoned the cause of the nation; and with them are the industrious, the friends of order, and all good citizens. On the other hand are men who have done little or nothing for the public good—pretenders of every class, without any merit—persons who regard no country, but as it serves their interest—robbers and assassins by profession. To which side do you turn? Where ought you to bestow your confidence? For whom do you decide? Speak; but in a manner irrevocable; and let your voice forever overawe the artful and malignant seducers.

For ourselves, already pledged to observe and to cause to be observed, the constituent act, nothing can induce us to vacillate, or to retrocede from a resolution to which we have bound ourselves by a solemn oath. If necessary, we know

how to die ; but while a breath of life animates us, we shall exert ourselves to consolidate the present system ; and we will inexorably prosecute, without distinction of persons, whoever may, directly or indirectly, attempt to subvert it.

MIGUEL DOMINGUEZ.

VINCENTE GUERRERO.

Mexico, May 29.



PROCLAMATION

*Of the General in Chief of the Army of Operation
to the inhabitants of Jalisco.*

Fellow citizens—I have at last arrived at the capital of your states ; and in my conduct, and that of the troops under my command, you have seen a refutation of the impostures and calumnies of the factious men who dared to represent me as an oppressor of our country's freedom. You have seen with your own eyes, that the respect due to your persons, your homes, and your properties, has not been in the slightest degree infringed ; that in the exercise of my commission, I have only employed the high powers which the constitution vests in the supreme government of the federation ; and in no way have I interfered in subjects that belong to your separate government.

For my own part, from the time that I planted my foot on the frontiers of the territory of Jalisco, I have only had opportunities of admiring the social qualities which in general constitute your character ; and my mind, in contemplating your docility, your courage, and your respect to the laws, and the force of the state, is excited and moved by the powerful and pleasing feelings of country. Its declared enemies, imputing crimes to the supreme authorities of the nation, en-

deavoured to rouse against it ; and the majority of you, without lending ear to the cry of the passions, remained tranquil, lamenting in silence the public misfortunes. They endeavoured to make you my enemies, and to arm you against your friend, while both I and the forces under me, experiencing the most distinguished hospitality, have scarcely had occasion to lament the follies of an insignificant faction. They endeavoured to represent my troops as the instruments of tyranny and oppression, while you, remembering the small services which we have rendered to the public cause, saw in them only the soldiers of their country—defenders of order and liberty. They endeavoured, in fine, to untie the bonds of an ancient family, to break the bonds of the federal union, and to convert this land, favoured by Heaven and Nature, into a field of mourning, of tears and sorrow; while you, always true-hearted, always patriotic, refused to participate in the plans of those who are selfish, turbulent, or haters of freedom.

Such was your conduct in the lamentable days of madness and disorder, when the unchained passions of some threatened to destroy every thing, and dug a grave for order and liberty. It is thence to be inferred, that when you find yourselves protected by a respectable force which has given so many proofs of its love to your federal institutions, to harmony, and to union, you will continue to afford an example of citizens worthy of the name, and of true republicans.

In the same manner, my ulterior operations and public conduct among you will be consistent with those which you have hitherto witnessed, and will proceed on the truths and principles which, from various points of my march, and with the frankness which belongs to my character, I have expressed to the Congress of the state, and declared in the face of its inhabitants, of the whole nation, and of all the world. I then protested, that to defend you against tyranny, to preserve you from disorder and licentiousness, to establish among you public confidence, to render effectual the harmony which

ought to subsist between the separate governments and the general government of the nation ; and, in a word, to unite the federal regime, and cause to be observed the constituent law which establishes it, would be the only objects of my commission ; and certainly never can my intention be otherwise, or the powers with which legitimate authority has invested me. As the delegate of legitimate authority, I shall never desert the orbit of its high appointments, or of the orders which, with relation to them, it has communicated to me.

All these orders are directed to your happiness, and to the general happiness of the nation. It is only wished that the present system of government may suffer no contradiction, and that, keeping equally aloof from anarchy and oppression, we may justly earn the title of freemen ; that the intimate union of the states with the government may inspire the merchant, the artisan, the miner, and the agriculturist, with the confidence and security which are necessary to continue, or to undertake their useful labours,—productive of public wealth and prosperity ; that the stableness and philosophy of the government, the moderation and orderly freedom of the citizens, and the imposing character of law and authority, may convert our land into such a mansion of peace and abundance as may bring useful citizens from all the world to plough our coasts and plains, (which invite the hand of labour), and induce them to co-operate in the progress of population, the first element of power : in a word, that to secure under the existing form of government, and equally distant from the excesses of disorder or tyranny, we may proceed with firmness to the supreme felicity of nations, which consists in the regularity of their institutions, and the well-being of the lowest citizens.

Inhabitants of Jalisco,—such are the grand objects of the provident care of your supreme government, and such is the moving power of my intentions and desires. I already calculate on the happiness of coming among you without leaving behind

me either tears or ruins, which would alloy the pleasure which I feel in being employed to promote your interests, or watch over your fate. I am resolved to continue the work of the salvation of my country : this is my end—to this all my operations shall be directed. The law of the constitution shall be my guide, and the public force under my command the means by which I shall punish its cruel and perfidious enemies. Do not doubt it, fellow citizens. Henceforward they shall not plot your ruin, nor endeavour to lead you to the horrors of a political dissolution, or to the apathy of a barbarous despotism. Your good faith shall no longer be abused, nor the moderation of your character be confounded anew by the cries of the public enemy, who, usurping the sacred voice of nations, hushes the honest clamour of the patriot and the citizen. My friends, you are free. You shall taste liberty in the bosom of peace and order ; and all the advantages of union and federative government shall be the element of your soil, even though to to secure them I should be forced to sacrifice my repose and my life.

And after such an intelligible and sincere declaration, can there exist in the state of Jalisco a single impartial person who can doubt the rectitude of the general government or my good faith ? Can there be any one who will lend an ear to the abuse which has been poured out against the respectable name of distinguished patriots, who, at the same time, are invested with the highest authority ? I cannot think so ; and as for me, I flatter myself, that calling to mind the little services which I have been able to render to the independence and liberty of the nation, I shall have been done justice to by believing me animated with a sincere love of country and a regard for the public interests. Yes ! It cannot be otherwise ; and I please myself with the hope, that after you are all undeceived and penetrated with a sense of the wise conduct of the Executive Government, and of the great causes which induced them to send me among you, you will join

with me in promoting the good work of our salvation. Act thus, fellow citizens, convinced that your happiness, the peaceful situation of your families, and of your towns, the liberty and order of your state, under the federative government, are now the first object of my desires, and the exclusive occupation of your best friend and disinterested fellow patriot.

NICHOLAS BRAVO.

Head quarters in Guadalajara, June 14th, 1824.



PROCLAMATION

Of the ex-Emperor Iturbide to the People of Mexico.

Mexicans!—On placing my foot upon our shores, after greeting you with the liveliest affection and kindness, my first duty is to inform you of the reason why I have returned from Italy, as I now come, and with what object. I trust you will listen to my voice, and that you will allow to my words the credit that is due to one who has adhered to truth on every occasion. Experience has taught you, by a series of transactions which required the greatest delicacy in their management, and must be well known to you, that when I have undertaken operations of public importance, it was not without due meditation that those operations had uniformly sprung from a desire to promote the true and solid happiness of my country, and were carried on in a spirit of prudence and of justice.

I should but offend your feelings if I used any arguments to convince you that Spain is under the protection of the Holy Alliance, and that she is not yet reconciled, nor ever will be reconciled, to the loss of the most precious jewel in her crown.

Allow me, however, to observe, that it is impossible for you to be aware of the numberless intrigues which are actively in motion, not only in distant countries, but within this our proper territory, for the purpose of restoring it again to Spanish domination. But I, who from my residence in Europe, found myself in a situation to learn much, and to perceive more, upon this subject, saw in the clearest manner that ruin was impending over you—and could I be indifferent, my countrymen, to your destruction? Need I say, then, wherefore it is that I return to you, journeying from such remote regions, triumphing over the obstacles, and eluding the toils, which this same Holy Alliance was anxiously preparing, to prevent me from achieving my purpose?

I return not as Emperor, but as a soldier and a Mexican, attracted to you even more by the sentiments of my heart than by community of country. I come as the first person * amongst you, interested in the consolidation of our cherished independence, and our just liberty. I come, influenced by the gratitude which I owe to the affection shown me by the nation in general, and without any recollection of the heinous calumnies with which my enemies—the enemies of our country—have sought to sully my name.

My only object is to contribute by my counsel and my sword to the preservation of the liberty and independence of Mexico, or never to survive the commencement of this new and most disastrous slavery, which powerful nations are preparing to inflict upon it; and that, too, through the instru-

* The above proclamation, said to have been issued by Iturbide on his landing, but which, we believe to be one left in this country, out of a very large number which he had had printed for distribution on his arrival, though it cannot be known to have been issued in Mexico, is, nevertheless, a document from which may be inferred what his views were in undertaking this unfortunate expedition.

mentality of some recreant sons of our soil, and several ungrateful Spaniards. It is my wish, also, to reconcile the differences which exist amongst you—differences which of themselves would be sufficient to plunge you into ruin—to re-establish the invaluable blessing of domestic peace, to support that system of government which may be most conformable to the general will, without any restriction whatever, and to co-operate with you in effectually promoting the prosperity of the nation.

Mexicans! You shall soon again hear from your most sincere and affectionate friend,

AGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.

BUENOS AYRES.

MESSAGE

Of the Buenos Ayres Executive to the Legislative Assembly or House of Representatives.

Gentlemen Representatives,—The fourth meeting of the Legislature of the State, assembled together in the manner prescribed by the laws, will afford to those who have any regard for institutions established for the preservation of their liberties, additional confidence; and the government, in rendering you an account of the present state of public affairs, commences by congratulating itself on that feeling, which, yearly increasing, will more and more conduce to the security of the Representative system.

Peace has been maintained with the nations of the conti-

ment, and every true American heart has been filled with satisfaction at the reception in our city of the first Minister Plenipotentiary of the republic of the United States—an honour which has been returned by our appointment of a minister of corresponding rank, who has already departed for Washington. He has been instructed to suggest to the government of that republic, how desirable it would be, if, in addition to those two great principles,—viz. that of the abolition of piratical warfare, and that of the non-European colonization of American territory,—it could also be declared that none of the new governments of this continent shall alter by force their respective boundaries, as recognized at the time of this emancipation. Thus may be destroyed the germ of future dissensions, which, springing up amongst new states, might have a fatal influence upon their civilization and manners.

The same minister will establish our relations with the republic of Mexico, which, after many fearful vicissitudes, now gives us hopes corresponding with her exalted destinies.

The republic of Colombia at last sees its vast territory entirely free from enemies, and the happy state of our mutual relations induces us to expect shortly the ratification of the treaty of the 8th of March.

The minister sent to the republic of Chili and Peru has strengthened the bonds of our natural amity and alliance with them. The illustrious President of Colombia will shortly open the campaign against the only forces of the enemy which remain on the continent. The number and quality of his troops, the spirit which animates them, and the ability of the chief who commands them, promise the happiest results.

The base revolt of the garrison of Callao, which has at this moment thrown a temporary gloom over our expectations, will soon be lost among those successes which must, ere long, put an end to the oppression of Peru. Time has more closely cemented our alliances with the provinces of Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, and Corrientes. The remaining provinces of the Old

Union continue in a state of tranquillity, and the government has not only cultivated friendly relations with them all, but its efforts for the establishment of a national representation promise to be crowned with success. Many of the provinces have already elected their representatives, whilst others are preparing to do so; and it is probable that we shall shortly see the installation of a general Congress, and re-union of one common family, too long dispersed and divided.

In the intimate persuasion that nothing will so much contribute to create a national spirit above all individual prejudices, as the dissemination throughout every part of the Union of real advantages which till now have been unknown, this government has hastened its preparations for a general Congress.

The public credit and connexions acquired by this government have enabled it to promote the formation of powerful companies of capitalists, ready to undertake to explore our mines—to facilitate the inland trade and navigation of the great rivers, which traverse the provinces of the Union—to introduce in others the means of transport by steam-vessels—and, finally, to establish a national bank, which may assist these operations, and provide for the provinces that capital which is necessary for the promotion and encouragement of their respective industry.

It is much to be lamented, Gentlemen, that the court of Brasil should have refused to listen to the first remonstrances made for the restitution of the province of Monte Video. Enough has been done to prove our moderation; for the rest, it remains with the general government to act. It is a national cause, and it is for the nation to defend it.

The government had flattered itself that the dictates of reason would have led to the ratification of the convention of the 4th of July, signed by the commissioners of his Catholic Majesty, and the establishment of a permanent peace; but the policy which predominates in Madrid since the fall of the

Spanish constitution, and the hostile measures since renewed, incline us to believe that it may, perhaps, be still necessary to complete with the sword the work of our independence. Having given his Catholic Majesty an unlooked-for example of generosity, we shall show him that our original energy is increased with our means of defence.

For this purpose those resources are in preparation which the good state of our domestic affairs enable us to raise. To the new administration is reserved the merit of making the wisest and most efficacious use of them. Some measures will, in consequence, be immediately submitted for your consideration, and it will be satisfactory for you to know the means which you are possessed of for sustaining a regular warfare with more energy and fewer sacrifices than heretofore. In the meantime, we have sent, and continue to send, succours to Salta, without reference to those sums of money which will be proposed for your approbation.

Under these circumstances, it must be very satisfactory to you to observe the policy adopted in a manner so dignified as well as frank and decided, by his Majesty the King of Great Britain.

The analogy of feelings and principles manifested by the cabinets of London and Washington will convince Spain that she must contend singly with the free nations of the New World. This conviction will perhaps introduce into her council that wisdom and moderation which are of so much importance to her existence.

We have received, honourably, a Consul-General from his Britannic Majesty, who will reside in our city; and it has been deemed expedient, in return, to appoint a Consul-General to reside in London.

In the meantime, the public peace has not been disturbed, and the last popular elections, joined to the quiet circumspection with which before a free and respectful people you have elected a new governor for the province, at the time,

and in the mode, prescribed by the laws, all prove that good citizens will not lose their spirit in making a peaceable use of their freedom. The establishments decreed for juvenile education in the city and in the country have been completed. These, together with the schools for poor female children founded in the city, make a progress which cannot but serve as a stimulus to the other establishments of a similar description ; they have multiplied considerably, and give us reason to look forward to the prospects of a rising generation much surpassing that which has preceded it.

The youth of this and the other provinces of the Union, who are educated in our universities, acquire fresh means of advancing in the moral and natural sciences, and are neither likely to render fruitless the exertions of the government, or the zeal of their masters. The study of political economy has been commenced this year, a knowledge of which will tend to ensure us hereafter intelligent officers.

Professorships having been established which were necessary for the classical education of those young men who dedicate themselves to the church.

The schools of surgery have been provided with an abundant and excellent collection of instruments.

A laboratory of chymistry, and a most complete physical apparatus, have been brought from Europe, to serve for instruction in the natural sciences.

To the collection of minerals which already exists, will shortly be added the machinery adapted to the study of mineralogy. The School of Practical Agriculture has commenced the introduction into our country of trees of which it was much in want, and will disseminate practical information which will render this branch plain to the simplest understanding. The library continues on the best footing, and has received in the present year valuable additions. The Charitable Society has completely fulfilled the public expectations. To the zeal and intelligence of the ladies who compose it, are

due both the progress in the education of the girls and the excellent appearance which the Female Orphan School presents. The hospitals are enlarging, and their interior arrangements are improving, with a considerable reduction of expense. The Vaccine Establishment has proved, in this year of sickness, its power to contend with, and to overcome, all the violence of the disease. Public Worship is conducted with its usual splendour; the embellishment of the cathedral of the province goes on with celerity; some churches have been repaired, others are building in the country, and the treasurer has assisted them with sums of money, which will be laid before you for your approbation. The clergy continue to do honour to the station they hold in society; in fine, the country may rest assured, that, under every circumstance, it will preserve without reproach that glory which it has acquired in the cause of liberty. Reform in the administration of justice is an object of primary importance to the country, but it is, at the same time, one most difficult and dangerous to carry into effect. That reform must be founded on the existing codes; but it would be imprudent to apply these, until their first principles are sufficiently understood by those whose duty it may hereafter become to explain and administer the laws.

The Magistracy has succeeded in gradually diminishing the existing difficulties, by an augmentation of its moral force, and an active anxiety to prevent crimes, and to discourage litigation; and it is but just to confess, that it has fulfilled its duty with a laudable zeal; that it has overcome great difficulties, arising out of the laws themselves; and that its labours have been productive of a more efficacious mode of correction of crimes, and a more correct knowledge of rights.

The system of the Police has been improved with greater economy. The execution of the law of the 20th. December last has placed in the hands of the citizens that duty, purely civil, with which the army was formerly improperly intrusted.

The moveable property in the country, which becomes more liable to be attacked in proportion to its increase, is better secured against robbery, and the means adopted to regulate the service in the plains have produced the best effects. The streets of the town and the roads have received extraordinary improvements, and a useful spirit of enterprise in constructing bridges and other public works begins to show itself in the city. The departments of architecture and hydraulics have satisfactorily fulfilled the duties of their institution; in a short time they will be provided with those instruments which are requisite for facilitating and extending their operations, especially that of the harbour. The standing army preserves its moral discipline; it has driven back the savages who invaded our province, recovering from them an immense booty, and it is now occupied in constructing works on the new frontiers. By the decree of the 23rd of April of last year, which has been since carried into execution, the education of those young men is sufficiently provided for, who may be expected to distinguish themselves in the rank of officers. But it is necessary to declare to you, that the laws appointed for recruiting and filling up the army are insufficient. The government has made every species of sacrifice to effect this object out of the province, and has only been successful in the Entre Rios. You will perhaps now be convinced that there is no other means than those laid before you in the year 1822. The military treasury is in an excellent state; the result of the examination of the chests of the different corps, just finished, has done honour to their commanders. The ordinance, which is now sufficiently provided for ordinary occasions, will be augmented to meet extraordinary emergencies. The administration of the public finances proceeds in good order. It will continue so, provided we consider as sacred this principle—viz. "that the just payment of our debts is itself a fund of riches." Our whole debt is now consolidated. The system of public credit is becoming more intelligible, even to

the most prejudiced and to the least instructed ; and this will best ensure its preservation. The bank has completed capital assigned to it on its foundation. Its prosperity exceeds the most sanguine hopes, and its utility is felt by all classes.

It remains to carry into effect a coinage suited to our wants, and which may be substituted for that which Spain issued to us after the model of her own. For this object, plans and measures are prepared for the establishment of a mint on the most perfect and economical footing. The public revenue has sufficed not only for the ordinary, but also for the great extraordinary expenses of the year. It is, however, to be regretted, that experience shows us the necessity of a recourse to more efficacious measures, to obtain from the citizens those moderate direct contributions which have been decreed as indispensibly necessary for the preservation of public order, since it appears that the conviction of duty and the stimulus of honour upon which they were founded are totally insufficient.

Industry in the country increases rapidly, and the amount of capital employed in agricultural pursuits becomes every day greater. The necessary means have been taken for the encouragement of an increase of agriculturists ; and it is to be hoped that the industrious families who are to people the rich plains of the south will begin to arrive. In proportion as the value of land increases, the necessity is felt of adopting some decisive plan for cutting short those litigations as to the boundaries of property which impoverish families, and desolate the country. The government has adopted such as it could, and has others in preparation, as well as a general basis for the distribution of public lands, which, by encouraging industry, will become a principal source of public revenue. Commerce, assisted by institutions which legalize and encourage it, has preserved its prosperity, notwithstanding political circumstances, which limit the sphere of its operations. The dangers of

the navigation of the river up to this city have been diminished by placing buoys on the inner banks ; and it is determined to form an establishment of safe and economical vessels, which will be stationed on all the shoals from the isle of Lobas, and which will be furnished with signals for the guidance of navigators, both by day and night. The accounts of last year, and the sums required for the ordinary service of the next, are presented on this occasion by the minister of finance, for your opinion and deliberation. Finally, Gentlemen, it is impossible that you can contemplate the actual state of the affairs of this province, without directing your attention to a comparison with that in which they appeared three years ago, when a feeling of public virtue brought us together, to lay the foundation of those wholesome institutions which have restored to us liberty, and a prospect of peace, then lost to us. The new administrations will have to preserve those institutions from the errors and false zeal of the well-disposed, which the disorganizing activity of bad citizens, and the artful hypocrisy of foreign tyrants, may turn to their own account. Your cordial and zealous co-operation will not be less necessary to the government to preserve, than it was to create, these institutions. You will not, therefore, disapprove that it concludes by repeating to you the words which the venerable President of the great republic of our continent has made use of to its Representatives in his last message:—

“ There never was a period since the establishment of our revolution, when, regarding the condition of the civilized world, and its bearing on us, there was greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union in our constituents.”

BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA.
MANUEL L. GARCIA.

A LETTER

*Of the Right Hon. George Canning to Don Bernardino Rivadavia.**

“ Foreign-office, Dec. 15. 1823.

Sir,—The king, my master, having determined to take measures for the effectual protection of the commerce of his Majesty's subjects at Buenos Ayres, and to obtain accurate information of the state of affairs in that country, for the purpose of adopting such measures as may eventually lead to the establishment of friendly relations with the government of Buenos Ayres, has been pleased to nominate and appoint Mr. Woodbine Parish to the office of his Majesty's Consul-general in that state.

Mr. Parish will deliver this letter to your Excellency; and I must request you to be pleased to grant him what is necessary, that as being duly qualified, he may enter on the exercise of his functions.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

GEORGE CANNING.

To his Excellency the Secretary of the
Government of Buenos Ayres.

* It was on the 5th of April that Mr. Parish and Mr. Griffiths were first received by Don Bernardino Rivadavia, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and delivered their credentials as Consul-General and Vice-Consul; which credentials, signed in due form by the Right Hon. G. Canning, and a letter of introduction, of which we have obtained a copy and which we insert with the more pleasure, as it is the first official document from Europe, in which the government of the country is addressed in a direct manner, and conformably to the character which the country has been endeavouring for fifteen years to obtain.

WAR AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

For a long time, war and its most serious events had been attended with no other result but the displacing of some limits, and the feeble increase of some provinces: now-a-days, war has shaken the very foundations of empires, changed the manners, laws, governments, and mutual relations of nations; and has every way modified civilization, and, as it were, mankind itself. Such a motor fixes the attention of the most heedless, and awakens the solicitude of the most indolent.

At the epoch when Europe was in flames, the military events that occurred in America feebly affected us; but now that humanity breathes in peace almost in every part of Europe, a lively interest of curiosity, of fear and hope, extends over the other points of the globe, where the clangour of arms is still sounding. Greece, shaking off violently the fetters of Islamism; America, struggling with obstinacy against the expiring efforts of its former rulers; both claim, on the two extremities of the world, the attention of all men, who, thanks to the progress of philosophy, begin to say, like the old man of Terentius: *Homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto.*

The storms which an unconquerable want of liberty occasioned to burst under the burning sky of the tropics, seem to have borrowed something of the heat and violence of those climates. Both the attack and the defence have been, for the last fourteen years, stamped with an equal character of tenacity, which, laying aside either the justice or injustice of the cause

for which they are fighting, inspires the impartial observer with a lively sentiment of astonishment and esteem for the rival warriors who occupy the scene. Never did a more striking instance of devotedness to despotism on one side, and to liberty on the other, attract the notice of the philosophical observer. One would think that the men who have for fourteen years stained with blood the plains of America, were and still are willing to prove to the world how far the fanaticism of liberty and that of obedience may reach; an abnegation so much the more extraordinary, as some are fighting for a despot whose heart is dead to gratitude; and others for restless republics, always ready to deliver up to ostracism the men who are so unfortunate as to distinguish themselves in serving their cause. We can, however, in some degree account for the devotedness of the American patriots; for, if it is ill requited by the country they serve, it will always be meritorious in the sight of posterity. But what can the obstinate supporters of Ferdinand's tyranny expect from a monarch who, like the Saturn of the ancient Carthaginians, devours every day his dearest offspring? Indeed if the Spanish generals who defend, in America, the authority of their king, are not held up, in their arduous task, by any other sentiment but that of fidelity, we must own that they are now giving to the world an example of disinterestedness to which nothing can be compared. Time will shew us, perhaps, if the devotion of such men as Monteverde, Tiscar, Callejas, Boves, Morillo, and La Serna, is the counterpart of that of Cæsar or of Pompey's lieutenants. It is not only by proofs of the most unbounded devotedness that the royalist and independent generals are signaling their

conduct in defence of the adverse interests which actuate them; they still rival in talent, and seem to make fortune equally subservient to the combinations of their genius.

Indeed, if we cannot help wondering at the prodigies achieved by the Mirandos, the Bolivars, the Hídalgos and the Morelos, we must own also that the nullity of the means with which their opponents have been, for these fifteen years, keeping up an offensive and defensive war, on an immense scale of operations, and at several thousand leagues distance from the mother country, which has long since been unable to do any thing for them, offers us a spectacle worthy of admiration, and which proves all that the Spanish nation might have been capable of, had not destiny condemned it to become the holocaust of a man who to the imbecility of Claudius unites the soul of Caligula.

Convinced that sketches of the military operations conducted by the royalist and independent generals in America, will prove interesting to our readers, we will present them, in the succeeding Nos. with special articles written as much as possible on the very theatre of the war. At present the abundance of matter compels us to skim but lightly the general facts, each of which will soon become the object of a particular investigation.

Considering this subject under the two fold relation of internal dissensions, and of the war of independence, which are still more or less felt on divers points of America, from Cape Horn to beyond the Gulf of Mexico, and even to the extremity of that of California, we perceive the following state of things.

Buenos-Ayres is no longer the theatre of any civil

or external war, and the formation of an army of observation at Salta, which we have already mentioned, and that of a body of reserve at Buenos-Ayres, are merely measures of precaution which the republic has adopted, to prevent the commotions which agitate Peru, from disturbing the tranquillity of its western provinces, and in order to be ready to repulse all the attacks that might still be made by Europe against the American independence; for, we can hardly credit the report spread by some obscure newspapers, that the republic of Buenos-Ayres is preparing to claim by main force from Brasil the restitution of Monte-Video.

The government of that republic has already evinced too much wisdom, to be supposed guilty of a plan worthy the conception of the editor of the *Lisbon Gazette*, or that of the *London Colonial Courier*, but which cannot certainly have been harboured by the statesmen who are entrusted with the superior administration of Buenos-Ayres, and who are conscious that, though prudence should not command the republic to live in peace with her neighbours, still it would be her interest to preserve between her and Brasil, the natural frontier which separates them.

The government of Chili, though perfectly free from the enemy's presence, has thought with reason, that its independence would be threatened, as long as the Spaniards should remain in possession of the sole point of refuge now in their hands, on the whole line of the Pacific Ocean from Panama to Cape Horn; it has therefore directed against the Island of Chiloe an expedition commanded by General Freyre.

It appears that the first operations were attended

with great success, and that all the fortresses of the island, except St. Carlo, which was obstinately defended, were rapidly taken from the Spaniards. More recent intelligence, which (with sorrow we announce it) does not appear destitute of foundation, informs us that the Islanders joined to the royal troops have resumed the offensive part, and forced the patriots' army to evacuate the island, after having sustained a considerable loss. Some daily papers have represented that retreat as a complete disaster. However, the most recent accounts that have reached us from Chili by Buenos-Ayres, announce that the expedition of General Freyre has lost but four hundred men, and that this general had arrived with the rest of his army at Talcahuano, in the province of Concepcion. That event, however grievous it may be, cannot be attended with any serious result for the security of the republic. No doubt but that the occupation of Chiloe might have proved of the highest importance; but the feeble reverse which has adjourned it, is a military incident but of a very secondary nature, which cannot seriously injure the general course of affairs in Chili. It must be owned, however, that if that undertaking had been attended with a different issue, Chili would have more effectually contributed to the pacification of Peru, by joining its disposable forces to the army of Bolivar, who, according to some American papers, had asked for some troops of cavalry.

The military situation of Brasil is extremely favorable to the imperial cause. The appeal which H. M. the Emperor thought proper to make to the nation, on the first demonstrations of hostilities from Portugal, has displayed the material resources as well as the mo-

ral dispositions of the Brazilian people. The execution of the decrees for organizing a national militia, and for increasing the number of the troops of the line, has not met with the least delay or resistance; and all the operations in which that armed force has, till now, been employed, have been crowned with the most complete success. Rebellion is every where expiring under the power of public force, as well as under the weight of the national opinion which crushes it.

At Paraíba, important events took place. The people deposed the governor, Felipe Neri named by Carvalho; Colonel Seixes, an officer devoted to the emperor assumed the government; and the few enemies of the imperial system who were there about disappeared. Pernambuco, returning by the flight or arrest of Carvalho, to the true sentiments of the mostpart of its inhabitants, has no doubt, by this time, entered again into the bosom of the great Brazilian family; or if any perturbators still agitate her, it is certain that the re-appearance of the blockading fleet, whose removal (for a few days, may be accounted for by the emperor's humane feelings) acting conjointly with the land forces directed on that point, will cause that province to return easily and without effusion of blood, under the obedience of the legitimate power.

We are likewise informed that the province of Maranhão, whose capital was, in the end of July, the theatre of violent commotions, has now almost entirely submitted to the emperor's government. The insurgents, who had advanced to the gates of the town to depose Bruce, the governor, who had been appointed by H. I. M. have been driven by H. E. from the posi-

tions which they occupied; and it is very probable that those broken remains of insurrection have by this time been destroyed by the vigorous measures which the Brazilian government has adopted, in order to stifle the rebellion wherever its indulgence had perhaps too long spared it.

By considering the whole military state of Brasil, we see that the present forces of that empire are far superior to the exigences of its internal and external situation. The imperial government, however, adopts every day such measures as to ensure more and more the progress of its independence; the most important are those relating to the organization of the land forces, the strength of which we have already enumerated in a preceding column, and to the naval forces, of which we shall give an accurate account in our next No. Among those measures, we must particularly single out the daily sacrifice which both the government and the nation are making for the increase of the fleet, and the imperial decree issued for the purpose of inducing seamen of other countries to enter into the Brazilian service, the text of which we think it is our duty to present to our readers.

“ It being just and expedient to recompense the foreign seamen now employed, or who may desire to be employed, in the service of this empire, in order to maintain by their co-operation the independence and integrity of the same, I have been pleased, with the advice of my council of state, to determine, that all the foreigners who from this date are enlisted as seamen in the service of the national and imperial navy, and continue in it till the acknowledgment of the independence

of the empire, shall receive, besides their stipulated pay, an additional half of the same, under the title of 'Gratification,' which shall immediately be begun to be paid them at that epoch.

"Francisco Villela Barbosa, of my council of state, Minister and Secretary of Marine, is charged with the execution of this decree.

"THE EMPEROR.

"FRANCISCO VILLELA BARBOSA."

"Palace of Rio de Janeiro, June 11, 1824 ;

On the 17th July, there was, at Alagoa, a sharp contest between the imperial troops under the orders of Morgado,* and those of the president Carvalho; the latter were repulsed after having sustained a considerable loss. It is, therefore, very probable that the republican party is now annihilated in that province.

Peru is, of all the points of America, that, where the theatre of war is still the most complicated. Chiefly during the last year, every month presented the struggle under a new aspect, and the obstacles which the patriots and the royalists had to overcome, were so great and so numerous, that, before the arrival of Bolivar, it was truly impossible to make up one's mind as to which of them had most to do, to attain the results

* A German officer of rank, recently arrived from Brasil, assures us that all the troops of every description, of which H. M. passed a general review at Villa Real and at Praia Grande, from the 23rd to the 30th June last, may rival by their equipment, by their discipline, and by the precision of their evolutions, the most regular European armies. This officer farther adds, that nothing can equal the enthusiasm of the soldiers for their young sovereign.

they aimed at. The patriots were divided between two hostile parties struggling against each other, to obtain the power; and threatened that extensive and rich part of South America with the most imminent destruction. On the other side, the Spanish army was composed of the advocates for absolute power, and of the partisans of the constitutional system, who were in an open state of hostilities. The former under the orders of Olaneta, the latter under those of the Vice-roy La Serna, who opposed General Valdes to his adversary, whilst he himself faced the republicans commanded by St. Cruz under the walls of Lima.

Such was the state of things, when the arrival of General Bolivar gave a new turn to affairs, by destroying at first the faction of the ex-president Riva Agüero, and by keeping in check the generals of the Spanish armies. The Liberator established, at first, the centre of his operations at Patarilia, where he collected an army of eleven thousand men, well disciplined and ready to act against the corps of Canterac. Meanwhile, the defection of a regiment of Buenos-Ayres, in the service of Chili, delivered up Callao to the royalist General Bodil, who marched on the capital, and took possession of it. Bolivar, however, did not think it expedient to direct his steps towards Lima, being conscious that the fate of Peru depended on a general engagement, and not on the occupation of the capital. At that juncture, Bolivar was at Truxillo, and his vanguard at Patarilia. He had under his orders eight thousand Colombians, and two thousand Peruvians. The regiment of Tacedores, one thousand strong, sailed from that port for Guayaquil, with transports that were to take thence two thousand men direct to Trux-

illo. In the end of March, the Colombian army was composed of nine thousand troops of every description, and that of Peru, collected at Truxillo under the orders of General La Mar, of three thousand men, whose number was to be instantly doubled.

The enemy's forces were composed of the troops of Canterac, at Sanjo, four thousand five hundred; Valdes, at Arequipa, four thousand; La Serna, at Cusco, five hundred; Olaneta, two thousand; and at Ica, one thousand six hundred.

The armies were occupying those respective positions, when the most unexpected event came to strengthen the hopes of the patriots. The royalist general Olaneta, who was in upper Peru, after having defeated and taken prisoner General Carratala, who had followed him with a force equal to his own, passed over to the patriot troops, and solemnly acknowledged the right of America to independence and liberty. The corps withdrawn from the Spaniards by the defection of Olaneta is computed to amount to six thousand men*.

In the beginning of June, Bolivar was preparing to open the campaign against the Spaniards. The forces

* Dispatches from General Bolivar confirm the defection of General Olaneta. It seems that a great misunderstanding had long subsisted between La Serna and Olaneta, and that these two chiefs having had a serious altercation respecting the constitution, Olaneta withdrew with his division; La Serna ordered then General Valdes to join him, in order to give battle to Olaneta, but that movement left Lima uncovered, and allowed General Bolivar to advance towards that city, which, no doubt, is already in his power.

which he headed amounted to ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, perfectly well armed and equipped, and burning with the desire of being led against the enemy.

The gazette of Panama relates, that on the 5th May, the guerillas of Bolivar's army had presented themselves before Lima, and penetrated into a quarter of the town, and that they surrounded the convent of Mercy; the Spaniards opposed to them some resistance on the square of the Cathedral, but the guerillas effected their retreat without sustaining any loss whatever. We have not yet received the positive tidings of the occupation of Lima by the independents; but it is beyond all doubt that the reinforcement of five thousand men sent from Colombia to Bolivar's army will contribute to terminate shortly the war in Peru, either by the occupation of the capital, or in consequence of a general action which the royalist armies can no longer avoid.

The Lima letters add that the general engagement between Bolivar and Canterac, on which the fate of Peru would depend, was expected to take place in the course of the month of June. It appears that the port of Callao was rigorously blockaded by the Peruvian squadron, under Admiral Guise, whose ships, in bravado of the Spaniards often advance within reach of the batteries, and fired at the castle. The following is a list of the Peruvian naval forces:—

“ *Protector*, 44, Vice-Admiral M. G. Guise, Captain George Mogel; *Limena*, 20, Captain Richard Pearson; *Valcarcel*, 18, Captain Elcombarrutia; *Congress*, 20, Captain George Young; *Macedonia*, 11, Lieutenant Thomas Hodges, Commander; *Castelli*, 1, Lieutenant Joseph Wickham. The

Mersey goes to Chiloe, to inquire into the circumstances respecting the capture of several vessels, under English colours, by privateers fitted out at that island, and acting by the authority of commissions granted by the governor of that place. She returns to Valparaiso after having performed this service. An expedition has left Concepcion, consisting of 2,500 men, and the Chilian naval force, to effect the reduction of Chiloe. The supreme Director, Friere, takes the chief command. The information that a Spanish squadron of vessels of war has left Europe for this quarter has created a great sensation. It is also said that an English naval force has left England for the same destination. The *Tartar* returns to Callao in a few days, touching at the intermediate ports on her way thither. The *Fly*, at present at Callao, will proceed to Valparaiso, on the *Tartar's* arrival. The *Aurora* is expected from San Blas and Panama the latter end of July, on her passage to England."

A subsequent letter, said to have been received by way of Philadelphia, brings the following intelligence, which we communicate to our readers, without vouching for its authenticity.

"Guayaquil May 27.

"By the brig *Tres Hermanos*, which arrived here yesterday from Payta, letters have been received of the 22nd instant, which bring the agreeable confirmation of the conclusion of the struggle in Peru, by the evacuation of Lima by the royalists on the 10th inst. Some days ago, news had been received of the result of the glorious action in which the arms of the country have again triumphed, and it was hoped the details could have been communicated; but as they have not arrived, I shall transmit you our first communication, and what has since been learned.

“ It appears that the Liberator and General-in-Chief Bolivar, who had his head-quarters in Truxillo and his advanced posts in the direction of Lima [the negotiations which the Minister Verindoraga had conducted, not having had a favorable termination in consequence of the capture of Lima and Callao by the royalists], determined to make one of those movements which have so often astonished his enemies and led him on to victory. Apprized that the Spanish Generals Canterac and Valdez had advanced upon Lima from the positions which they occupied on the coast of Pachacama to Yca, and that they had left General Moneta with the traitor Torre Tagle, commanding that city, and advanced with the principal divisions of the army by the road of the valley [Camino del Valle], taking up positions from Chancay to Guaura, and detaching a strong division in the direction of Tarma.

“ The Liberator, who seems to have foreseen this movement, sent 4,000 men, in two divisions, by the great valley of Huailas, and the eastern banks of the river Santa, and withdrew his advanced troops to Carma. This last movement seems to have encouraged the royalist generals to advance precipitately with the main body of their troops to the country between Pativilia and Callijones, a little to the south of Guarmey, where they were on the 3d instant, with 6,000 men, advancing on Truxillo. The Liberator received reinforcements from hence and Panama, and went out of Truxillo at the head of 7,000 men for Parilla, and advanced by forced marches to Carma; and on the 6th instant there was a general action, maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. General Canterac received a severe wound in the action, and as soon as the royalist army saw their general in that state, they dispersed, and retired in confusion on Guarmey, where they encountered the force that the Liberator had previously detached, stationed in their rear, after having effected their march from the valley of Huailas by the bridge of Huaras and Ychoca. The rout was so complete, that with the ex-

ception of 700 men, who gained the heights with General Rodil, all the army surrendered. Our victorious troops advanced rapidly, and general Rodil retired on Lima, where he was pursued by the Liberator, and the city opened its gates on the 10th instant. There was, consequently, much public rejoicing in Lima. The remnant of the royal army retired in the direction of the Cordilleras. The 13th the fortress of Callao proposed to capitulate, upon conditions which were under consideration.

“The insurgents of Pasto have laid down their arms at Tulcan, under the security of a pardon from the Colombian government, with the exception of the chiefs.”

The territory of the Colombian republic has ceased for a length of time to be the theatre of any military event. The war ended in that country almost with the retreat of Morillo and the taking of Porto Cabello. There has been, indeed, lately at La Guayra, some appearance of insurrection among the negroes; but the prompt and vigorous measures adopted by General Paez have suppressed those first symptoms, even before they were made known to the nation. The army of operation of the republic is acting in Peru, where we have just traced it. As for its defensive system, it hardly leaves any thing to apprehend for the security of the republic, and we are every way led to believe that Colombia may at last enjoy in peace the fruit of its sacrifices.

The military operations in Mexico are limited to one expedition, recently directed against the province of Guadalajara, where Quintanor the governor, and Bustamente the military commander, had fomented an insurrection, whose apparent end was to proclaim the independence of that province, but which really aimed at

facilitating the re-establishment of Iturbide. But the federal executive took in time the necessary measures to stop the progress of the insurrection, and sent from Mexico, an expedition under the orders of General Bravo, destined to paralyse the machinations of the enemies of the existing order of things. This general directed his march towards Xalisco, where the governor of the state and the military commander tried to oppose the provincial troops to the federal army; but those imprudent chiefs were forsaken by their partisans; and General Bravo had the glory of having conquered and pacified, within less than three weeks, that rich and vast province.

In general, the executive power is re-edifying the military organization with much wisdom, firmness, and moderation; and we need not fear that this country should ever be brought back, by main force, under the subjection of Spain. The only point which the ancient parent country still possesses, is the castle of St. John de Ulloa, which, it is said, has even now fallen into the hands of the independents. If the news of that event, which would complete the liberation of Mexico, is unfounded, we may hope, at least, from the present situation of the fortress, that it will soon take place. At the end of May, some prisoners, who escaped from that fortress related that the garrison consisted of a hundred infantry, two hundred artillery men, and sixty miners. They had a hundred and eighty five men sick in the hospital, and the mortality was spreading.

In every case, the possession of the castle of St. John de Ulloa, offers for the present, no other advantage to the Spaniards, but the pleasure of destroying, whenever they please, some few houses in Vera Cruz.

TRADE AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

The export trade of the South American States, now paralysed by the war, will one day obtain such development as may be expected from the variety of the productions which that favoured country contains in its bosom, and from the articles of local industry peculiar to each of its states. South America is far from being exhausted by the efforts she has made in conquering her new acquired liberty, and in time of peace the citizens who cultivate that fruitful soil, will easily find means of exchange for the productions of European industry. Till then, the balance of trade must naturally be in favour of those countries from which they import the immense quantity of articles necessary to their consumption. Those countries are Great Britain and the United States, whose vessels crowd in the American ports, where the flags of the other European nations are seldom to be seen. France chiefly, guided by a strange respect for family regards, is sacrificing to them, without mercy, the interests of its commerce, of its industry, and of its navy, to such a degree that from 1814 to 1820, for instance, hardly sixteen or seventeen vessels from French ports, appeared on the shores of La Plata. Not however, that the French merchants are to be accused of apathy. Their conduct is merely the result of a necessary circumspection; for, whilst the cabinets of London and Washington, even long before they had acknowledged the independence of the Southern States, had in each of them accredited consuls, who were charged to protect the merchants and navigators of

their respective countries, the French merchants deprived of such a legal support, were exposed to every kind of exaction on the markets and in the American ports, and frequently attacked by the Spanish privateers, which stripped them with impunity on their return to Europe, under pretence that they were not provided with papers signed by French consuls. Hence the supremacy of the external commerce of England, which Europe inveighs against so unjustly, since it is her own false and narrow policy that promotes its rapid increase. Is it to be supposed that, while England girds America with the ties of her power, from the isthmus of Panama to the austral pole, and when she alone, among all the European powers, favours the progress of its independence, France should, for instance, expect to engross the commerce of the ancient Spanish colonies? Every one wonders at and cries out against the overgrowth of the external trade of Great Britain; but without ground, for it is from the accord existing between that commerce and the policy of the government, that this monopoly arises. France and Holland might, no doubt, have attained the same end, if the policy of their governments had not been in constant opposition to the national interests. But, to spare vanities, to consecrate ridiculous abstractions, and to treat only with individuals, they have always been, and they are still considering as nothing, the populations that produce and consume, that sell, buy, and pay. What has been the result? Clearly this; that England, whose maxim is to account nations as something, has skilfully availed herself of the long conceited blindness of those men in whose opinion nations consist but in a few individuals; that the English

ships are now covering all the seas; that there is no nation inclined to become free but what is equally disposed to offer her a free access, to concede to her exclusive establishments, and to ask her for succours; that she subjects the commerce of all nations to the combinations of her credit; that she subordinates to this credit that of all the other nations; that she binds to herself, by the ties of active and passive debts, all the foreign and native merchants; that she may heap up, according to her own views, at such time, and in such places as she chooses, the articles of foreign consumption, and the tokens which represent their value; that she creates every where at her will, the scarcity or superabundance of imports; that she disposes of the vicissitudes of the circulation; that she establishes a perpetual variation in the value of general trade; in short, that as long as her popular and national government shall last, the predominancy of this nation will extend as far as the sphere of nautical geography.

Let us apply this system to a special case: at the close of the last Spanish war, France, not content with having resuscitated in Europe an abhorred tyranny; threatens to shackle again America which is perfectly inoffensive to her, and whose emancipation cannot inspire her with any rational alarm; and if she stops, when on the point of taking an active part in the concerns of Spain against her colonies, it is evidently by motives independent of her will. England; on the contrary, warmly embraces the part of oppressed nations, and frankly notifies that their cause will be her own, as soon as they shall have been attacked by either one, or several powers that have no right to interfere. The cabinet of St. James's placed beyond

doubts the views of its policy respecting the southern governments. Loans of all sorts are encouraged ; companies are formed to work the mines of Mexico ; consular agents are appointed ; others are kindly received ; in short, the British nation and her government declare and prove to South America, that the English are her natural friends and allies. One may easily conceive that England will soon feel the effects of this liberal policy. It is asserted that her influence has already made the Americans determined on opening a canal to unite the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans ; and it is proved that such an important enterprise may be effected with a trifling expense considering the advantages which it holds up. No doubt but that England will then acquire, both on the Atlantic and the Pacific, establishments which will give her the command of the navigation of the most important canal in the universe ; then, having, if we may say, one foot in India, and the other in South America, exerting an immense European influence and sharing the riches of South America, what can still be wanting to her commercial sovereignty ? Nothing ; and those governments, whose restrained policy shall have been the first to clear the new road to English power, will still cry out but always in vain, perfidy ! ambition ! maritime despotism ! and yet England will only have followed the dictates of a sound and even generous policy. Her new acquisitions will only be derived from the just gratitude of those nations which shall be indebted to her for their happiness and independence.

France could show herself towards South America under the same aspect of impartiality, good understanding and justice ; and then, if she had not reach-

ed the same end as England, she would at least have obtained a relative participation in those advantages which America is, at present, bound to grant exclusively to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain. But, in order to obtain this end, the French government and those of the other maritime powers of Europe, should have identified themselves with the national interests, and conciliated the commercial wants with those of their policy; but they seem to have hit upon a system diametrically opposite. Thus they must submit to bear patiently the sight of the colossal superiority of England, as long as humanity, justice, and the knowledge of their own interests, shall not have made them alter their principles. We will now offer them some tables, the examination of which, deserves, perhaps, their full attention.*

* The Editors of the American Monitor will give, as much as possible, in each No., an authentic account of the commerce of each of the American states, with each of the European nations. They have adopted such measures, as to ensure, that those statements shall be founded on the most authentic documents, in order that they may serve as a compass to the European merchants.

An Account, showing the official Value of the Trade carried on between Great Britain and America, North and South, from 1697, to 1816; extracted from Documents and authentic Records laid before Parliament and the Board of Trade.

Annual medium of eight periods of peace, viz.	AMERICA, NORTH.					
	UNITED STATES.			BRITISH NORTHERN COLONIES.		
	Imports and Exports united.	Imports into Great Britain from	Exports from Great Britain to	Imports and Exports united	Imports into Great Britain from	Exports from Great Britain to
1698 to 1701	£ 683,948	£ 296,402	£ 387,546	£ 37,108	£ 18,617	£ 18,491
1713 to 1717	771,561	369,345	402,216	27,395	18,120	9,275
1722 to 1738	1,124,034	581,951	542,083	66,157	42,613	23,544
1749 to 1755	2,129,330	891,169	1,238,161	121,734	48,750	72,984
1763 to 1774	3,544,623	1,202,911	2,341,712	440,336	104,849	335,487
1784 to 1792	3,825,893	986,409	2,839,484	1,085,902	221,413	864,489
(1 year) 1802	7,252,994	1,923,504	5,329,490	1,718,831	367,935	1,350,896
1816 to 1822	9,661,444	3,267,488	6,393,956	2,431,792	716,572	1,715,220
AMERICA, SOUTH.						
BRITISH WEST INDIES.						
1698 to 1701	1,046,600	714,761	331,839	"	"	"
1713 to 1717	1,315,675	966,421	349,254	225,891	38,552	187,039
1722 to 1738	1,587,494	1,300,044	287,450	282,795	47,694	235,101
1749 to 1755	2,252,250	1,588,183	664,067	28,374	1,896	26,478
1763 to 1774	4,144,848	2,900,857	1,243,991	157,273	145,977	11,796
1784 to 1792	5,723,196	3,860,674	1,862,522	222,984	183,853	39,131
(1 year) 1802	12,456,788	8,531,175	3,925,613	1,943,087	1,658,256	284,831
1816 to 1822	12,956,582	7,926,215	5,030,367	6,688,466	2,132,674	4,556,792
FOREIGN WEST INDIES. And from 1808, BRASIL and the SPANISH COLONIES.						

TRADE between England and Brasil from 1806, to 1822, inclusive, and the total amount of Exports from Great Britain in 1823—Extracted from two Parliamentary Documents, presented to both Houses of Parliament.

(Vide No. . . . printed in 1821, by order of the House of Commons.—Idem No. 274, printed in 1824.—Order of the 3d May.)

Years.	Imports-into Great Britain from Brasil.	Exports to Brasil from Great Britain.	Detailed account of the exports to Brasil from Great Britain, viz.		
			Foreign and colonial produce.	Produce of the soil and national industry	
				Official Value.	Declared Value.
	£	£	£	£	The Parliamentary Documents only give the declared value of the produce of the soil and national industry, from the year 1814.
1806	1,792	4,527	3,366	1,161	
1807	140	22,412	1,513	20,899	
1808		2,551,058	172,182	2,379,476	
	434,647				
1809	1,436,761	3,251,623	142,597	3,109,026	
1810	1,487,963	2,928,889	332,370	2,596,519	
1811	1,196,754	1,906,243	135,540	1,770,703	
1812	670,548	2,089,259	86,006	2,033,253	
1814	1,267,542	1,704,892	92,723	1,612,166	
1815	829,391	1,746,472	40,172	1,706,300	
1816	957,328	1,848,455	20,036	1,828,418	
1817	817,222	2,284,568	15,662	2,268,906	
1818	1,080,543	3,191,621	31,723	3,159,397	
1819	952,201	1,896,316	32,006	1,684,309	
1820	1,294,025	2,278,385	46,098	2,232,286	
1821	1,181,857	2,136,516	21,717	2,114,828	
1822	1,047,525	1,974,559	55,064	1,919,495	
1823		3,425,375			

An Account of the British and Foreign Merchant Vessels, with their Tonnage, which cleared out of the Ports of Great Britain for those of Brasil from 1815 to 1823 inclusive.

Years.	BRITISH.		FOREIGN.		BRITISH AND FOREIGN.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1815	132	27,218	19	4,425	151	31,643
1816	193	38,733	12	2,975	205	41,708
1817	159	30,761	1	269	160	31,030
1818	234	43,517	4	920	238	44,437
1819	173	32,378	„	„	173	32,378
1820	282	51,851	4	867	286	52,718
1821	171	30,586	2	553	173	31,139
1822	187	33,846	„	„	187	33,846
1823	215	40,105	1	312	216	40,417

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARGOS OF BUENOS AYRES.

PACKETS, April 10th—The government having considered the proposals presented by the consul of his Britannic Majesty for the regulations of packets, has decreed as follows:—

1. The captains of the British packets may land with the mail (correspondence) without waiting for the visit of the officer of the port.

2. They must, however, on landing present themselves first of all to the captain of the port, that he may take those sanitary measures from which no vessel is exempt.

3. The captains shall go with the whole of the correspondence to the office of the British consuls, where they will leave the official despatches, and will then proceed to deliver all the private letters to the general post-office.

4. The postage of a single letter shall be two reals instead of three, which it has been hitherto. Double letters in proportion.

5. Every packet shall remain in port ten days after its arrival, unless detained for some extraordinary reason by the British consul.

6. The British consul-general may establish in his office a box to receive from the English merchants the letters which the packets are to take back, the captains of which shall receive them without the intervention of the general post-office.

7. The other letters which the packets are to take for the merchants in general shall be delivered to the respective captains by the director-general of the post-office, without which no one shall depart, giving notice of his departure the day before.

8. The letters of the government for England, or for any other part of Europe, shall be taken on board the packets free

of postage, with the sole condition that those for England shall be delivered to the post-office in London, and those which are intended for any other part of Europe, shall be under cover to some correspondent in England.

9. The British government packets are exempt from all port duties, but the passengers and crew are subject to the regulations and general police of the country.

10. Three days after the arrival of each packet, a mail shall be despatched for Chili.

11. With respect to which no change shall be made in the present practice till an agreement is made with the government of Chili.

12. The official despatches for the public agents of the government of his Britannic Majesty in Chili and Peru, shall be taken by the mails from this capital, postage free, it being taken for granted, that none but the letters in the service of the said government shall enjoy this exemption: the consul general of Buenos-Ayres may put them into a separate bag and seal it.

13. This decree shall be sent to those whom it may concern, and inserted in the official register

MEXICO—The bad season having set in, which prevents purchasers from coming down, business has become very dull, although the stock of goods on hand is not extensive, yet very few sales can be made at this moment with any profit.

The markets in the interior are also supplied; but we have no doubt that towards the fall, when the busy season begins again, the present stock will have run off, and prices much improved, particularly of German and French linens, French brandy, wine, and Italian and French paper.

As to cotton goods, the stock on hand is too heavy, and will require longer time; as the loss on present sales is great, we presume the importations will be much reduced, and give room for improvement.

The English loans have made bills on England plenty, and the current exchange on Mexico is 45 l-2d. a 3 dfs. 46d. a 60dfs. if paid in Mexico ; 47 l-2d. a 3dfs. 48d. a 60 dfs. if paid here on coast. Cochineal may be had at 76 dollars, vanilla very scarce.

[The following which is important to commercial men, is extracted from one of the most recent American papers] ;—

“Consulate of the United States, Alvarado 13th June 1824.”

Sir,—I have been officially informed of a decree of the Mexican government, bearing date the 20th day of last month prohibiting (three months from and after the date thereof from the United States, and six months from Europe) the introduction into the ports of Mexico of sundry enumerated articles, a list of which I take the liberty to hand you herewith, with the belief, that its publication in one of your *Gazettes*, may be useful to the commerce of New Orleans.

I am Sir, with very great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM TAYLOR.

Beverly Chew, Esq.

FIRST CLASS.

Provisions, Liquors, and other Articles.—Spirits from the cane or any other than from the grape ; vegetables, roots, and garden-stuffs of all kinds : anise, cummin, and carraway seeds ; starch ; rice, sugar, and molasses ; coffee ; salted and smoked meats. Grain—wheat, Indian corn, rye, barley ; pulse of all kinds, beans, peas, &c. ; green fruit of all kinds, nuts ; flour, except into the state of Yucatan, conformably to province decrees ; fowls and eggs ; soap, hard and soft ; hogs' and bears' lard ; vermicelli and macaroni ; ship-bread and biscuit ; common salt ; tallow, rough and manufactured ; manufactured wax ; chocolate.

SECOND AND FIFTH CLASS

*Flax and Cotton.**—Cotton wool,* from any foreign port whatever; cotton thread No. 60, or above; ready-made clothing of all kinds and descriptions, and parts thereof; ready-made quilts, curtains, table and other household linen, &c.; shawls, or panos de Reborā, of cotton; tape,* white and coloured; mattresses and bedhangings, curtain cords, bed-linen, &c.; linen bags.

THIRD CLASS.

Woollen and Hair.—Ready-made clothing of every description; table-covers (carpets); bear-skins (esalaeinas); common cloths, second and third qualities; cloaks, called sanaps fesadas.

FOURTH CLASS.

Manufactured Silk and other Articles.—Ready-made clothing of all kinds; embroidery, lace, open work, in metal or in mixtures thereof, &c. Common hides and skins in the hair, tanned or untanned and prepared; fine skins of all kinds in the hair tanned or prepared, and manufactures thereof; leather straps (agujetas) of all kinds; upper and sole leather of all descriptions; buck skins, all colours and preparations; boots and shoes of all kinds, boot patterns; buckskin breeches &c.; upper shoes, clogs, &c.; saddles and bridles, and horse furniture; portmanteaus of all kinds; parchment; leather hats and caps.

Manufactures of Clay.—Glazed or unglazed earthen vessels; bricks and tiles of all descriptions; very common queen's ware, glazed or unglazed, with or without common prints; earthen jars new or old, of all kinds and sizes.

Metals.—Copper in pigs or sheets; lead ditto, in shot; silver and gold plate; epaulettes of all kinds; embroidery of all kinds.

Woods.—Wood of all kinds.

* Articles prohibited by former decrees, and now repeated in the general list of prohibitions.

LIMA, 2nd of May.—The Spaniards in Lima had treated the commercial interest with some degree of forbearance, well aware that their coffers would have a better chance of being filled by duties than by seizure. On goods in store at Lima, a duty of 12 per cent. had been imposed; and by the new tariff, articles of importation in general were admitted at a duty of 35 per cent. Wine and brandy paid 48 per cent.; flour, eight dollars the barrel; and wheat three dollars the fanega. On goods entered for exportation, a transit duty of 10 per cent. was imposed; but, as if conscious how precarious their tenure was of the city, no goods were allowed to remain longer than two months in the custom-house, without payment of the full duty. The principle export duties were—silver, five per cent.; gold, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the general produce of the country at 12 per cent. No movements are mentioned to have taken place on the part of the Colombian President, who remained in his head-quarters at Truxillo.

It has been ascertained by the last arrivals from Havana, to the great surprise of our merchants who trade with Cuba, that some very important privileges have been conceded to the French shipping entering the ports of that island. The duties on such vessels have been recently the same as the English—that is, about 22 per cent.; but have latterly been reduced to about 6 per cent., while ours remain unaltered. The question, which in itself seems to be entirely of a commercial nature, derives some additional interest from the suspicion excited, that this is one mode by which the French, having lost all hope of any other kind of payment, are seeking to indemnify themselves for the charge of the Spanish campaign. To the English traders the disadvantages are very great of this relaxation in favour of France, which may ultimately exclude them from a very beneficial market, unless by the interference of our government, similar privileges are obtained from them.

LIMA, 7th of April.—One of the articles that is likely to command a good sale here is glass, of which a pretty large assortment should be sent by every vessel coming from Germany. Glass of other countries cannot, from its high price, come into competition with German glass. Silk velvet is also likely to be an article of extensive sale. Other articles we expect a demand for are cotton hosiery, if lower charged than the English: wax cloth, and German broad cloths are likewise in demand in the markets of Chili:

Although business is extremely dull here at present, and prices low, owing in a great degree to want of confidence and the fear of change, yet there are but few European goods in the market; and when the event takes place, which we look to as near at hand, business must immediately improve.

BUENOS AYRES.—The bank of Buenos Ayres goes on very prosperously: it paid 20 per cent. on the deposited capital in the first year; and the whole amount of capital fixed by the original charter, say one million of dollars, has now been subscribed, and a share could not be purchased under 10 to 15 per cent. advance at this moment. There are at present four English directors, and five Spaniards and Creoles, and the British must hold about one-half of the bank stock.

MOREAU'S CHART,

Shewing the State of Great Britain, with all Parts of the World, from 1697, until the present time, 1828.

To do much, with superior effect, and with great economy of time and money, is the grand problem of industry. Bacon, by applying his new method to the study of the sciences, nearly arrived at this solution, and laid the foundation of a new intellectual world; from that time, the most ordinary knowledge, as well as the most elevated metaphysical speculations, have been submitted to a method of instruction, more calculated to strike the judgment through the simple medium of the sight, than to fatigue the memory by the confused effects of abstract operations.

Still, the science of commerce, perhaps the most important of all, had remained destitute of the benefit derivable from this simplification. The author of the above-mentioned work, perceiving this immense chasm, has endeavoured to fill it up by a brilliant essay, which has been crowned by the most complete, the most universal, and the most merited success.

Mr. Moreau treats on that space of time, in which the British Commerce with the whole world has undergone the most frequent and the most important revolutions; he has drawn into a single focus, all the operations, all the details, and all the results which consti-

tute the vast complicated domain of the commercial fortune of England ; and has formed of them a synoptical table, in which, each fact dividing, arranging, and, as it were, displaying itself to the eyes of the most apathetic and superficial observer, enables him to retain within a narrow and tangible sphere, an immensity of commercial, economical, and political knowledge, which he would search for with difficulty, and, perhaps, without success, in the works of Robertson, Anderson, Meadows, Sheffield, Hume, &c. &c. It is curious to observe, at each period, the influence which the political situation of England relatively to the other powers exerts on the prosperity of her commerce.—Thus, the years of peace offer far different results from the years of war, and the commercial treaties produce a remarkable increase in the balance. Let us take for instance the relations of England with France : in 1698, a year of peace, the imports amounted to £48,806, and the exports to £61,441 ; in 1702, a year of war, the imports were still £76,171, while the amount of exports was only £12,838.

The grand totals offer the most interesting results ; looking at the grand total of British commerce with all parts of the world, including Ireland, the fisheries, &c. &c. for the year 1823, we find that the imports amounted to the enormous sum of £40,415,248, and the exports to £56,234,663. A very remarkable observation, drawn from these results, is, that the exports are almost always greater than the imports, which clearly proves the commercial superiority of Great Britain. Indeed, Mr. Moreau has discovered the means of concentrating in a single sheet of paper all the diverse branches of the commer-

cial fortune of Great Britain; and what is still more, of unravelling and exposing to view the causes which have given rise to the vicissitudes which this fortune has undergone during a hundred and twenty five years; so that, by throwing a single glance on Mr. Moreau's table, the economist, the statesman, or the merchant may form a correct idea of the highest social interests with the greatest facility, and in much the same manner as they would consult a map, to ascertain the position of a town or the course of a river. This is no doubt an immense service rendered to all those, who, whether from inclination or necessity, take an interest in commercial transactions.

Under this point of view, it is to be hoped that Mr. Moreau will, in the same manner, treat on all the capital branches of the commercial organization of England: such, for instance, as navigation, manufactures, &c. &c. As to ourselves, we should warmly intreat this distinguished economist not to confine himself to the logic of figures (which, however, is by no means the most common) but to clear up and enlighten with his pen, some of those points of commercial science, around which still reigns so much obscurity. No one could better fulfil this arduous and important task.

The following is an extract from Mr. Moreau's work, which will give our readers some idea of its importance.

Summary Recapitulation of the whole Trade carried on in the last hundred and last years with Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and each Kingdom, State, or Colony, showing the Balance in favor of, or against the Imports or Exports.

Division of each Trade.		Imports and Exports (united).	Imports (in 126 years) from	Exports (in 126 years) to	
		£	£	£	£
Europe.	Foreign } North	1,135,695,506	392,485,030	743,210,476	12,141,141
	South	585,443,025	227,847,903	357,595,122	12,141,141
	British Isles	415,830,282	190,030,593	225,799,689	33,110,110
	Ditto in the Continent	100,977,204	10,238,866	90,738,338	50,439,444
All parts of the World.	Europe (total)	2,237,946,017	820,602,392	1,417,343,625	590,741,233
	America	1,222,253,049	592,784,305	629,468,744	36,684,424
	Asia	400,999,240	273,677,658	127,321,582	146,356,076
	Africa	58,804,477	9,031,547	49,752,930	40,701,383
	The Whale Fishery, Prize Goods, &c. &c.	48,481,256	19,015,322	29,465,934	10,450,612
	Grand Total	3,968,484,039	1,715,131,224	2,253,352,815	538,221,591
America, North and South.	British West Indies			204,266,195	176,017,028
	United States			275,487,727	161,939,107
	Foreign West Indies			41,665,014	5,322,108
	British Northern Colonies			64,664,810	43,613,110
	Brasilis (from 1809 to 1822)			31,816,425	17,160,186
	Spanish Colonies (from 1808 to 1822)			11,568,567	5,321,172

Division of each Trade.		Imports and Ex- ports (united).	Imports (in 125 Years) from	Exports (in 125 Years) to	Imports over the Exports	Exports over the Imports.
Europe Foreign North and South	Germany, including Hanover and Heligoland	£ 386,334,352	£ 92,356,043	£ 295,478,347	£	£ 202,622,342
	Belgium (Holland and Flanders)	382,437,614	85,227,329	297,209,685	"	211,982,356
	Portugal, Azores, Madeira, and Cape de Verd	182,113,979	55,602,206	126,451,773	"	70,789,567
	Russia, and the Ports on the Black Sea	170,942,283	121,389,756	49,552,527	71,837,229	"
	Spain, Majorca, Minorca, and Canary Islands	147,718,886	62,577,689	85,141,197	"	22,563,508
	Italy, Sicily, and the Austrian Ports on the Adriatic	149,231,116	65,825,192	74,405,924	"	8,580,732
	Prussia, Port of Dantzic, and Duchy of Pomerania	88,801,684	47,936,556	40,865,095	7,076,491	"
	France, and the Island of Corsica	71,183,635	19,875,930	51,267,705	"	31,351,775
	Norway and Denmark	56,093,718	16,482,619	37,611,100	"	19,123,482
	Sweden, (not including Norway)	49,086,458	26,590,736	22,495,722	4,095,014	"
	Turkey and Egypt	47,252,739	25,422,329	22,130,404	2,991,925	"
	Ireland	393,071,671	161,255,902	211,815,769	"	30,559,867
	Isle of Man, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Sark	22,758,611	8,774,691	13,983,920	"	5,209,229
British Islands	Gibraltar and Straits, (from 1697 to 1822)	73,847,213	5,715,274	68,131,939	"	62,416,665
	Malta, (from 1808 to 1822)	45,725,068	3,220,209	22,496,799	"	19,272,530
	Ionian Islands (from 1801 to 1822)	1,404,923	1,297,323	107,600	1,189,723	"

British Tonnage of Vessels cleared outwards (in 125 years) are 91,363,796 Tons, Foreign ditto ditto 20,372,253 Tons, difference in favour of the British 70,991,543. Net payment into the Exchequer of the duties of customs, £419,253,984.

Note.—The A

Linen, Mats

manufacture

East and W.

&c &c. to a

Tow, Firs, Hogs' bristles, Linseed, Hides, Rhubarb, of scarcity; and from Turkey—Silk raw, Madder un-ellow Berries for Dyers' use, &c. &c; and from the am, Indigo, Tea, Pepper, Cloves, Dyewoods, Cocoa,

CORRESPONDENCE.

PORTUGAL.

The Portuguese nation appears to be in a state of fermentation and disorder, which seems to presage some change in the organization of the monarchy. The Portuguese wish for a constitution, which shall alike guarantee the rights of the people and those of the sovereign, and they claim the fulfilment of the royal promises so flagrantly departed from, through the efforts of an individual who interposes between the throne and the people, and who is above all decidedly averse to the recognition of Brasil. Under this point of view, the affairs of Portugal are connected with the grand interests which we advocate, and we have deemed it right, to request an eye-witness to observe minutely, and to make known to us all such events as may interest our readers; he has been pleased to comply with our request, and this is his first letter.

To the Editor of the American Monitor.

SIR,

Lisbon, 18th September 1824.

You request of me some exposition of the political situation of Portugal, as well as my opinion on the turn which the state of things between this kingdom and Brasil is now taking. You observe, that it is generally believed, that the differences which have arisen between the mother-country and her ancient colony, may yet be terminated amicably, and you ask me if these pacific conjectures are likely to prove correct. This task is a difficult one, and I really cannot promise to execute

it completely; the situation of Portugal is so very intricate and confused, that without the eyes of *Asmodeus*, it would be impossible to form an exact idea of it. I will now, however, just sketch the principal features of the general picture.

You know the history of the thousand factions, which, during the last ten years, have not ceased to agitate Portugal and tear her in pieces, by promising her that liberty and happiness which they only sought for themselves. You know through what chaos of follies, crimes, and misfortunes, this country, once so flourishing now so distressed, has reached the counter-revolution of 1823, which ought, and might indeed, have been the end of all her woes. Provoked by the errors of the government, determined by the corruption of the depositaries of its authority, and accelerated by the calculatory egotism of all parties, the revolution had run its course during nearly two years, and yet no fixed law, no stable government has been established.

The moment was, however, very opportune to lay the foundations of a regenerating political system, and it was impossible to obtain possession of power under auspices more favorable and more likely to insure a peaceful and reparative reign. The Portuguese nation, worn out by the violent convulsions, to which she had been abandoned by the administration of the Cortes, gave herself up with confidence, to the care which the new administration ought to take for her safety, her glory, and her happiness. She forgot the wounds of the past, she supported with courage the charges imposed on her by the re-establishment of sovereign authority, on which she founded her hopes for the future. Those who just before exercised the supreme power now quietly dispersed; and the whole nation rallied round the throne with a frankness and good faith, which did not even allow the new ministry to act on the defensive. From this moment, it seemed as though no pretext could retard the organization and maturing of a constitutional government, which the general voice pointed out, and openly called for.

However, far from taking that great and salutary measure, the necessity of which was every where evident, a ministry, or rather a minister, bequeathed by the expiring Cortes, and into whose hands the power had fallen by chance; hastened by a false and vacillating course of conduct to prove to the nation that her hopes were but illusious, love of the country, an empty word, and the representative government which had been promised so often, a mere mystification. Instead of perceiving that the general discontent felt by the nation for the government of the Cortes, and its unanimous affection for the re-established order of things, allowed and even prescribed them to adopt a system of mildness, union and oblivion, the ministers hatched new intrigues, and kept up an appearance of ferment, by the aid of which, they adjourned as long as possible the re-establishment of tranquillity, which might have brought with it the term of their power. From thence arose all those made-up insurrections which broke out one day, and on the morrow were stifled; from thence also arose that perpetual contradiction, that crooked course, which they would wish to be considered as a wise and dignified policy; thence those arbitrary exceptions in the justice to which every one has an equal claim, those categories in clemency, those individual accomodations, that kind of domestic gossiping, which we shall presently appreciate, and by the means of which personal resentment, vanities, jealousies, and even, with some, the conscience of their own guilt, have so far succeeded as to cover with the sacred cloak of the sovereign authority, acts of a most revolting and arbitrary nature. And still in the midst of this ministerial despotism they have, from time to time, poured forth protestations of respect for the public right, and lulled the nation with the hope (always a deceitful one) of a constitutional government, as if proscriptions and a constitutional government were not two irreconcilable things; they dared utter the word "liberty," as though in the mouth of those who banish without trial, or re-

fused the exiled the privilege of a trial, it were not a cruel irony. Is not this, I would ask you, the way to render oneself at once odious and ridiculous? Never did ministry so well deserve and so completely obtain this double renown.

This conduct, you will perhaps tell me, is easy to be accounted for, on the part of one member of the ministry to whom the repose and the reflexion which follows it might prove fatal; but with regard to those who have nothing to fear from the remembrance of the past, it must create extreme surprise. No doubt, and they are to be sincerely pitied; for it is not through choice that they have accepted an alliance which is by no means honorable; they probably expect that their previous reputation will defend them against the stigma cast upon the part they are acting, and perhaps with laudable intentions; and indeed, Portugal could not, for instance, conscientiously ascribe to the Marquis of Palmella, that long series of ministerial iniquities which, to serve mean and shameful passions, prolong the pangs of Portugal, debase it in the eyes of Europe, and perpetuate the memory of an epoch which should have been long since forgotten. Thus the public opinion impeaches only the nature of the particular circumstances which retain the noble Marquis in a very badly-assorted alliance, from which his loyalty would have long since freed itself, had it been possible for him to compound with necessity.*

* We are fully convinced that our correspondent attributes the presence of the Marquis of Palmella in the Portuguese ministry, to an erroneous motive. Whatever may be the particular circumstances in which his Excellency is placed, it is beyond all doubt that this distinguished statesman is utterly incapable of subordinating to them his political conscience, and that, if he has consented to partake in the administration with a colleague little worthy of him, it is only from devotion to his king and country, to which he has always sacrificed his interests and his private inclinations.

EDITOR.

But I hear you exclaim, who is then this new political Hercules that can impose silence on the conscience of honest men, fascinate the eye of a venerable monarch, inculcate false ideas in his upright and enlightened mind, and thus trifle with impunity with a nation, which has not forgotten what she owes to her honour and interests? What was he? How has he acquired that power? How does he maintain it? When will he fall from it? When.....? softly, gentlemen; you ask too much, all these things form a very complicated comedy, each act of which contains as much intrigue as is to be found in all the dramas of Beaumarchais. I will therefore only give you a sketch of the three first; as to the catastrophe, you will be pleased to await it at the hands of royal justice, which, to all appearance, will not fail, ere long, to satisfy your curiosity.

You must then learn, that this great *improvisé* character, who now controls the fate of Portugal, is no other than General Pamplona, whom you perhaps considered as no longer in this world, as you must have been acquainted with a certain sentence by virtue of which a court of justice had, in a moment of ill humour, the brutality to condemn his Excellency to be hanged, for having been guilty of the light offence of bearing arms against his king and country.

It is true that he has atoned for the follies of his youth by the unbounded devotion with which he served in the French armies, and chiefly by the celerity with which he travelled from Paris to Lisbon, in order, as says humorously a lady of wit, to become a patriot of 1821. But let us speak seriously, and, without recurring to useless antecedents, let us merely consider the mischief he has done, instead of the good that he might have achieved, at the moment when a concourse of the most strange circumstances raised him to the ministry. You are acquainted with the fortuitous causes of his elevation: You know that, being endowed with the same instinct as the rats mentioned by Pliny, which run away from houses that

threaten ruin, Mr. de Pamplona was prudent enough to withdraw, in time, from the residence of the Cortes, whose imminent discomfiture he scented ; but you are perhaps ignorant of a circumstance which still serves as a general laughing stock : Mr. de Pamplona, who had retired in the environs of Villa Franca, a short time before the infant D. Miguel headed, and directed that way, the troops which wrought the counter revolution, ran, as you may well suppose, and threw himself at the feet of his Royal Highness, in whose cause he had always wished to shed even to the last drop of his blood ; but whilst he was thus protesting his *faithfulness* and devotion to the prince, and bathing his knees with tears of joy, it was suddenly announced that the king, disapproving of his son's conduct, was marching against him with the rest of the garrison of Lisbon. The effect of thunder is not quicker than that which this news operated on all the faculties of General Pamplona. He immediately formed his resolution, as a man who knows how to convert obstacles into advantages, he hastened to address to his Majesty the following letter :

SIRE,

Villa Franca, May 7th, 1823.

Having, for these three months, with your Majesty's permission retired to my estate of Sub-Serra, where my sole occupation consisted in cultivating my lands, I received this morning from his Royal Highness the Senhor Infant Don Miguel, the order to repair immediately to Villa Franca. Conformably to this, I was under the painful necessity of presenting myself before H. R. H. with a round hat and in country clothes. On receiving the summons of following H. R. H. I learnt, for the first time, from his own mouth, the resolution he had taken, and the motives which had determined him to it. Finding that Prince without any of his servants, and foreseeing his intentions, I thought that my profound gratitude for all I owe to your Majesty, imposed on me the obligation of not leaving to himself so young a Prince as H. R. H. I do not perceive, in all the dispositions which I observe, any danger for the person of H. R. H. But should there any occur, I would be the first in sacrificing my life to him. Such is the motive which, joined to the discourse of the Prince that contains nothing against your Majesty's authority, has induced me to follow H. R. H.

My ambition being long since extinguished, I wish for nothing else but to serve the Senhor Infant, through devotion to your Majesty. Your Majesty will be pleased to believe in this protestation, because you know that I never had the temerity to deceive you; and what could have induced me to act otherwise in circumstances which I could not even foresee?

I kiss your Majesty's Royal Hands.

(Signed) MANOEL IGNACIO MARTINO PAMPLONA CORTE REAL.

A few hours after, the modern Cincinnatus, the ambitionless Pamplona allowed himself to be prime minister, assisting to the despatches, a count, &c. &c.

Nothing, however, could have been more easy for the new minister, than to cause his former conduct to sink into oblivion, and to gain the general esteem and good will. Never was a man more favorably situated to do good. In fact, what else had he to do, but to second the king's paternal intentions, to allow the truth to reach his Majesty's ears, and to lay before him the state of the nation such as it was, namely, as being unanimous in their wishes to obtain from the king fixed institutions that might henceforth protect them from fresh commotions; to represent to him the necessity he was under, not only of restoring to the people a charter which was formerly their glory and happiness, but also of having it faithfully executed in all its consequences; to let the nation express freely their desires, dispositions and wants; to adopt frankly a system of justice, uprightness and firmness, which all parties and opinions as imperiously claimed as the interest of royalty itself.

Instead of all this, what did the new minister do? He began by consulting nothing but his own selfish views in Portugal; and it was to himself and to his individual preservation that he subordinated all things. He introduced all kinds of fraud into the government, attacked, in every way, the means of expressing the public opinion, and tried to vilify all persons of influence, by drawing them to his own side, either

through threats of losing, or hopes of gaining; and such of these as he could not buy, he either incarcerated or exiled.

The public opinion claimed back the constitution of the ancient Cortes, which had been promised by the king. The minister was not strong enough openly to brave the opinion; he deluded it by an impudent out-jesting; he caused an illusive ordinance to be issued with the express purpose of imposing on the nation; he then endeavoured to disgust that nation with the exercise of its rights, by a thousand little mean incidents which the national good sense quickly redressed.

In order to appreciate the inconceivable egotism of this mean, insidious, and self-conceited minister, please to cast a look on some few acts of his administration, and you will perceive that their constant, sole, and invariable aim is himself, and none but himself. Is the point in question to restore to the nation its ancient liberties, which for ages were the glory of the monarchy? The minister, who dreaded recollections, sees himself already attacked by the liberty of the tribune, and sacrifices to his own fears the public interest and the inclinations of the monarch. Is the administration to be re-organized? He expels from it the most capable persons, who are replaced by his own creatures; because those men, who have formerly known him, might recall to his mind sundry epochs, the remembrance of which would prove rather grating to him. Is the army to be attended to? It is again to his own profit that he re-organizes it. This army has need to revive under the command of a man whose merit and reputation may exert over it a great, legitimate, and moral influence; that man exists; the interest of the army, that of the crown, national gratitude, point him out and loudly call for him. But that man is a great captain, a man of honour, who was shedding his blood for Portugal, whilst Mr. de Pamplona was fighting in the ranks of her enemies; and this suffices to make the latter dread the presence of an officer whose reproachless conduct would have been the satire of his own. Thus, the

minister trampling under foot the interests of the state, contrived to get the command of the Portuguese army to be entrusted to a young prince, who, on account of his inexperience and of his neglected education, must necessarily fall under his guardianship.

Thus, what has become of that army, so well disciplined, so brave, so fine, and so truly obedient under the command of Marshal Beresford? It is now a kind of prætorian guard, ready to serve the designs of all the parties that keep it in their pay, and to crush to day the very man it has raised up yesterday.

At last, the assuaging of all the hatreds, and the moderation of all the parties, request that the royal clemency may re-open the gates of the country, or at least those of the courts of justice, to such Portuguese as have only been misled. But Mr. de Pamplona is aware that out of that number there are men to whom he lays under the greatest obligations, men who formerly restored him to his household gods, to his fortune, to his honours (not to his honour) and Mr. de Pamplona never had courage enough to sustain the presence of his benefactors; and it is by proscriptions and by exiles that he pays off the debt of gratitude.

And see what have already been the effects of the immoderate thirst for domination of that little Machiavel. See how far the public weal has been led through all those deeds of complaisance, fright, and hesitation of Mr. de Pamplona's ministry. The government rests on nothing; there remains but a phantom of it. A scandalous division, which has drawn on the house of Braganza the pity of all Europe, has taken place between the monarch and his son. The King was induced by the most criminal intrigue, by the fictitious appearance of a danger which does not even exist in the timorous head of Mr. de Pamplona, to take refuge on board a foreign vessel, when the people and the army endeavoured to guess the motive of that inconceivable step. The government has

placed itself under the immediate direction of foreign diplomacy, by the whim of which it is scandalously tossed to and fro, in the eyes of all Europe and of the nation which blushes at it. The peace with Brasil, which the interest of both nations loudly call for, is indefinitely delayed ; the finances exhausted, and the funds arising from the last loan swallowed up by preparations of war, which do not impose on any one, and which the ministry destinate to nothing else but to absorb the resources of the nation. In short, though two years have now elapsed since the counter revolution took place, though the ministry have not met with any real obstacle in their way, no step has yet really been adopted to re-establish security in the social relations, to annihilate the spirit of inquisition which disturbs families, and to harmonize the institutions with the wishes and well known wants of Portugal ; whence it results that commerce is null, taxes considerable, and that all the private interests are suffering ; and all this, because the power has devolved upon a man, who, a stranger to the great interests of the state, has merely seized the surface of things, and who, besides, always was, and always will be, overpowered by fear and the most absolute egotism.

This is not all yet. Whilst Portugal is ostensibly given up to the arbitrary power of a man, there are within the ministerial palaces, feminine intrigues carried on, which strangely contrast with the situation of public affairs. You are acquainted with the disgrace of Viscountess de *Jourmanha* ; you know that that lady, one of the handsomest women in the kingdom, and whose family has been, for time immemorial, attached to the house of Braganza, was exiled, together with her husband, by Mr. de Pamplona, under the ridiculous pretence that she was of the Queen's party, in the affair of the Infant. The fact is, that this lady, whose only guilt is to be handsome and amiable, committed the heinous crime of amusing herself at the expense of the teeth and eye-brows of Madame de Pamplona who will not, in spite of nature and

of her mirrors, be the ugliest female in the whole kingdom. You are conscious that this was quite sufficient, and that, two days afterwards, the fair conspirator received an order to remove from court. You see, that if beauty caused the destruction of Troy, it is quite the reverse that ruins Portugal. It is asserted that it was the archbishop, minister of justice, who took upon himself to ask for her exile, through complacency for the hatred of Madame and the resentment of Mr. de Pamplona. It is thus, gentlemen, that every thing goes on for the best, in the best of kingdoms possible.

I remain, &c.



MISCELLANIES.

DEATH OF ITURBIDE.

Our leading article and our military section were under press, when the news of the ex-Emperor Iturbide's death reached England. The nature of his enterprise and the circumstances which have attended it, had induced us to foretell that it would miscarry; and that the man, who pretended to re-establish his fortune on the violation of plighted faith, might find nothing but a precipice where his rash imagination had placed a throne and altars. But, we did not think, we must own, that in a republic, where all citizens must be equal before the law, a summary sentence emanating from an exceptionable tribunal, in a word, a *coup d'état* should have inscribed the name of Iturbide on the list of the illustrious sufferers, who died without being able to invoke justice, which for

them had covered herself with a veil. We do not mean to stir up fresh hatreds, or excuse Iturbide; we even admit that his appearing on the Mexican shore was sufficient to bring down on his head the national vengeance; but at the same time as we frankly acknowledge his presumed culpability, we cannot help remembering that it is to him Mexico is indebted for its liberty and independence, and that on his score, he deserved that the benefit of the common law should be extended over him. A strange way this of impugning despotism, by opposing to it deeds of tyranny, and by introducing distinctions at the very foot of the scaffold. Did the republicans, who so hastily shot Iturbide, reflect that nothing is less republican than their own conduct? We shall in our next No. give an historical account of this unfortunate Mexican, as celebrated by the rapidity of his elevation, as by the suddenness of his downfall.

CHARLES X.

Charles X. occupies at last the throne of Louis XVIII. upon whose ashes the tomb has closed for ever. The former and the new government bestow an equal tribute of tears to the deceased monarch; and such indeed was the political life of that prince, that it would be difficult to say which of the two ought to feel most regret, either liberty or slavery. Charles X. whose accession seemed likely to prove fatal to the new ideas, has already conquered the votes of all parties; all France surrounds his throne, and a unanimous concert

of gratitude for the present; and of hope for the future, is heard every where. If those omens are realized, we may hope that the policy of the French government will also prove more propitious to the independence of America. We shall not yet, however, imitate the precipitate enthusiasm and the easy admiration of the French for their prince; and before we make a demigod of him, we shall wait till facts have proved that he is a man. Mean time, we shall merely repeat the following distich, which was found under the word *resurrexit*, written at the foot of the statue of Henry IV, on the accession of Louis XIV

D'Henri ressuscité j'admire le bon mot;
Mais pour y croire, ami, j'attends la poule au pot.

We remark several luminous ideas, and a great erudition in the memoirs which the minister for foreign affairs of Colombia has presented to the constitutional Congress of the republic. We chiefly admire the lucidity with which H. E. spoke at some length of the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht, when alluding to the affairs of Quito and Guayaquil, &c. He is also extolled for having, in his relations with all the other powers of the world, established as an invariable rule of his conduct, never to grant to any, what cannot be conceded to all. Would to God that the Roman empire had acted with the same wisdom! But what chiefly excites the enthusiasm of the European statesmen, is the depth of mind which made his Colombian Excellency guess that the true mode of granting an ef-

efficacious protection to the trade between Colombia and Great Britain would be *a direct arrangement with her government after having previously acknowledged her existence as a sovereign nation.*

The president Bolivar, who has not, very likely, studied the war of seven years, to learn how to beat the Spaniards, as his minister for foreign affairs has learnt by heart the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht, to learn how to negotiate with them, has just given up to the republic his military stipend till the peace. It is an act of devotion to the cause of the country, which is very gratifying to the friends of liberty, but which is not to be wondered at, from General Bolivar.

It is said that Portugal has at last consented to treat with Brasil on the explicit basis of the independence of that empire; which denotes that the Portuguese ministry has finally yielded to take into due consideration the national interests. It is plain that we need not despair of any thing.

The last intelligence from South America informs us of the death of the royalist General Valdes. If this event is confirmed, the Editors of the Monitor will give in their next No. a biographical account of that officer.

AMERICAN FUNDS.

Oct. 16th 1824.

The South American Funds have been less agitated during the last week than for a length of time preceding—Colombian Scrip $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 discount; it to-day becomes stock, and will in future be quoted so, as the holders have now paid up all the instalments. Peruvian Stock has varied from 64 to 67; Brasil and Buenos Ayres nearly in the same proportion; Mexican Stock has varied from 59 to 61.

PRICES AT CLOSING.

Mexican, 61 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto New, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ disc.
Brasil ditto, $\frac{1}{2}$ prem.	Chilian, 74 $\frac{1}{2}$
Buenos Ayres ditto	Peruvian, 66 ex. div.
Colombian, 79 $\frac{1}{2}$	



THE
AMERICAN MONITOR,

No. II.

A MONTHLY
Political, Historical, and Commercial
MAGAZINE,

PARTICULARLY DEVOTED TO THE
AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AMERICA.



HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

BRASIL.

*Decree of the Emperor, relative to Captain John Taylor.**

WILLING to yield to the representations of the British Government, I have thought proper to dismiss from the service of the National and Imperial Navy, Captain John Taylor, commending him for the great zeal and intelligence which he dis-

* The Diario of the 20th had prepared us for this official paper, by the following article: "There are national sacrifices, which are really hard, but which policy renders necessary and indispensable. Our Government has just made one of these sacrifices to policy and the

played in all the commissions, with which he has been intrusted. My Supreme Military Council will hold itself bound to observe and cause to be executed this decree.

(Signed)

THE EMPEROR.

(Countersigned)

FRANCISCO VILLELA BORBOZA.

Palace of Rio de Janeiro, August 7, 1824.

friendship of Great Britain. The brave and intrepid Taylor, we are assured, has just been dismissed from our naval service; this having been required by Great Britain, because Mr. Taylor quitted its service and entered into that of Brasil. Our navy suffers a severe loss in the dismissal of Mr. Taylor. This officer had chosen the Southern Ocean to be the theatre of his glory, and had already surrounded the Imperial Throne with the first trophies of his labours. He was the first who showed our flag before the Tagus, and who, with the greatest zeal, maintained a strict blockade of Pernambuco, during four months of a stormy winter; and it is in the beginning of so brilliant a career, that English policy deprives us of this brave man, and obliges him to withdraw from the service of his Imperial Majesty and the nation.

“ But at the same time that we lament the dismissal of Mr. Taylor from the service of the nation, we congratulate ourselves on his heroic resolution not to abandon the empire of Brasil, of which he considers himself as an adopted son. This fact we state on his own authority. Our conviction on this subject is increased by a general report, that this gallant officer is about to be married in a few days to an accomplished, beautiful, and amiable lady, the daughter of one of the chief families of this state—an union which promises great advantages, not only by attaching to us a man so necessary, but by the interest which he will shew as a citizen of Brasil and father of a family in the progressive increase of our prosperity. To possess so excellent an officer is to possess a treasure. History points out to us the assistance which has been given to nations in the most critical periods of their existence by generals dismissed from service. Their country ought to consider them as shields of reserve, of infinite importance. Let us congratulate ourselves, therefore, on the resolution of this deserving officer, and offer him the testimony of our respect and consideration.”

The gentleman above referred to was Lieutenant of a British frigate.

*Communications from the Minister of Finance at Rio de Janeiro, to the Junta of the Province of Bahia, relative to the Portuguese Captures in Brasil.**

“ Mariano Jose Pereira, of his Imperial Majesty's Council of State, Minister of Finance, and President of the Treasury, &c.

“ I make known to the Junta of Finance, at Bahia, that there having been presented to his Majesty the petition of Pedro Gomez Ferreira, the proprietor of a rope-manufactory in the said city, in which he prayed the respective authorities to confer upon him possession, without public sale, and by valuation only, of a warehouse on the quay of the said city, being part of the property of the Portuguese emigrant, Jose Antonio de Segueira Braga, (which property is sequestered,) and to allow him to pay the price at which it is valued to the state, in articles of his manufacture, for the use of the arsenal department, and according to the requisition of the Intendant of Marine; having procured all the necessary information on the subject, his Majesty has been pleased to declare to the said Junta, that the sequestration of the estates of the Portuguese, is a measure of mere precaution, taken in order to oblige that nation to acknowledge our independence; which being acknowledged, the same estates, with the proper deductions and equitable liquidations, will be restored, along with their rents, to the proprietors; it being necessary to proceed to the sale by auction, not of the estate, but of the rent, if that has not been stipulated with the proprietor, no departure from the general rule will be permitted in this case; if a public sale of the above-mentioned warehouse takes place, the petitioner may bid along with other bidders,

* This document is worth notice, from the explanations given in it of the motives for the numerous captures of Portuguese vessels, made by the Brazilian navy.

lodging the price in the public treasury. This is communicated to the Junta, for its guidance and execution."

Silvester Ferreira Pereira drew up this decree on the 28th of June, 1824, in Rio Janeiro.

Proclamation of his Imperial Majesty of all the Brasil to his Army.

Comrades,

The national honor, as well as my own, is outraged by certain incendiary writings, manifestos, and proclamations; from which it appears that the intrusive President of Pernambuco, Manoel Carvalho Paes d'Andrade, and his faction, have dared to declare a federation, insulting to the supreme authority, in opposition to the general will of the nation, and in violation of the constitution which I offered you, which we have all sworn to maintain, and which enjoins respect and due obedience to me; they declare that the executive system is defective, and that a federation is preferable; Carvalho has not hesitated to set forth, in his manifesto, that I am a traitor to Brasil; that it is only in Rio de Janeiro that the title of Perpetual Defender, which ought to be discontinued, is acknowledged, and that I have no right whatever to govern you. Such are the insults offered us, not to you alone, my comrades, but to the whole Brazilian nation. I declare them deserving of such chastisement as may serve for an example to futurity.

Say, infamous factionists, on your consciences (if you have any) if such declaration as you have written and proclaimed, and being false (as they are), ought not to be punished in the face of the world at large.

Beloved and honoured Brazilians, if the lesser authorities are deserving of respect, how much more ought to be the government? How much more your Emperor, the object of your voluntary choice? Be it ever remembered, that before he was Emperor, he supported your rights: remember that

his constitutional principles have been manifested to the world; remember that he ever has been and ever will be your defender; lastly, remember how earnestly I have ever desired to see you free, and with that view offered you constitutional monarchy, of all others the most liberal. Brazilians, if this is not the proper moment for your Emperor to vindicate the national honor, and you that of your Emperor, no better will certainly ever present itself; and the delightful soil of Brasil will be the theatre of anarchy.

Let us, therefore, my friends, banish not only from Pernambuco, but from every part of Brasil, and if possible from the world, those demagogues and revolutionists who, while they inculcate philanthropic principles on the populace, are neither friends to humanity, nor to our national happiness; and whose sole aim is to level all property and authority. Look at France and the Southern States of America; where are the blessings promised by these friends of the people? To our disgrace be it spoken, we are beginning to experience the same evils; let us unite our vows for independence or death! Let us maintain our independence; let us swear to the integrity of the empire, which must be supported; and finally, let us swear to a constitution which will secure the welfare and stability of the Brazilian nation.

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL EMPEROR AND PERPETUAL
DEFENDER OF BRASIL.**

Rio de Janeiro, 27th July, 1884.

Proclamation of Lord Cochrane, Marquis of Maranhão.

Pernambucans,

If you prefer, for a portion of the empire, a federal government, rather than a union of the whole; if you are desirous of a republican form of government, accompanied by the dangers and confusion to which a republic is always subject, under circumstances like those in which you are placed; if you prefer such a government, which differs from anarchy in name

alone ; if you prefer quitting the enjoyments of peace, safety, and rational liberty, and living in perpetual discord or waging incessant warfare with your brethren ; if you have made this most extraordinary and unhappy choice (as rumour states you to have done) it is obvious to the whole world, that his Majesty the Emperor, in order to discharge the duty of a patriotic and constitutional monarch, is bound resolutely to check acts subversive of the general good of the empire, and destructive of your interests and happiness. When you know that his Imperial Majesty has confided to me authority to regulate and protect the maritime interests of the empire, I trust that I shall not be blamed for having recourse to the promptest and most effectual measures to overthrow any maritime federation that may be contrary to those interests. If any of you hope to see the ship of war Pedro 1st. labouring at anchor in your roadstead, unsheltered for months together, whilst your vessels are safely moored in your ports, and you are quietly sleeping in your beds, be at once convinced of your error ; for if, within eight days from this date, you do not return to a sense of your own interests, and the duty you owe your country, it is my determination so effectually to blockade all the entrances of the port of Pernambuco, that no vessel of war or privateer whatever, (however small it may be) shall have the means of getting out to molest the trade of the other provinces ; and I shall complete my duty by concerting hereafter such means, that neither yourselves or confederates shall have the smallest hope left, of being able to establish a maritime power. I know where the dissensions which exist among you had their birth. I am persuaded they originated in erroneous impressions, and are the offspring of sudden circumstances, of which, from the distance at which you were placed, you could form no just estimate. I also know that some persons, whose superabundant zeal for liberty and independence caused them to pursue a system, from which anarchy and confusion alone results, having immediately

discovered their error, still persevered in it, for no other reason but the imaginary difficulty of being able to withdraw from it with safety and credit; but, should they continue to deceive you, and should you permit yourselves to be deceived by them, the inevitable consequence will be that of drawing down general ruin on both. If, therefore, you are desirous to retrace your steps, and partake, in common with the rest of the empire, of the fruits of independence, the foundation of which your want of co-operation alone retards; if you are sincerely disposed (as all true Brasilians are) to rally round the throne of your Emperor, and to support it against every insult and foreign influence, be most sincerely assured, that it will be infinitely more satisfactory to me to undertake the office of mediator, to prevent proscriptions, bloodshed, and destruction, than to cause vengeance to be executed. So shall Pernambuco flourish, if it should not be necessary to destroy the port, the result of which would be to reduce that great and commercial city to misery and wretchedness.

COCHRANE DE MARANHÃO.

On board the Pedro Ist,
19th August, 1824.

Proclamation of Brigadier Francisco Lima da Silva, Commander of the army of Pernambuco.

Soldiers,

The Emperor, my august master, has sent us to Pernambuco, to restore order, to punish rebels, and to assist the good Pernambucans, led astray by the factious, malevolent Carvalho and his detested band. Soldiers, if the perverse people, deaf to the proposal of friendship and confraternity, which I, as the organ of the Emperor, offer them, persist in not laying down their arms, or delivering up to us the chiefs of the rebellion, we have only to march. Be prepared, therefore, to suffer privations and to fight. I shall

rely on your firmness and subordination, as you may on me, under all difficulties.

We who fight for the integrity of the Brasils, for honour and true glory, shall trample under foot a troop of raw rebels without discipline or moral force, and the defenders of an unjust cause. Soldiers, conduct yourselves peaceably under all provocations, wherever they arise; as friendly and auxiliary troops respect the rights of our fellow citizens; a contrary mode of conduct will be punished with the utmost rigour of the law. Soldiers, independence or death is not only our motto, but we have sworn to it; let us be faithful to our oaths. To conclude, I entreat you, if I attack, follow me; if I fly, kill me; and if I die, revenge me. Long live the constitutional Emperor. Long live the good Brazilian friends of order.

FRANCISCO DE LIMA DE SILVA, BRIGADIER GENERAL.

COLOMBIA.

Treaty of Friendship, Union, and Alliance, concluded between the Republic of Colombia and the Mexican Nation, on the 23d of October, 1823, and ratified by the Colombian Government, June 30, 1824.

The articles of this Convention, the general purport of which has been long known to the public, stipulate—

Art. 1. For an alliance both in peace and war, to maintain the independence of both the contracting parties, and to promote mutual prosperity, by establishing a correspondence of good offices and friendship.

Art. 2. For mutual assistance in case of attack or invasion.

Art. 3. To render the above article effective, that a particular treaty shall be made, settling the quantity of assistance to be granted under given circumstances.

Art. 4. That the marine of both powers shall be employed in this service of mutual defence.

Art. 5. That on sudden emergencies, all the disposable forces of each state shall act hostilely against the common enemy in the territory of the other. There are, of course, limiting and qualifying clauses to this article.

Art. 6. That both states shall yield all assistance in their power to the ships of the other that may have suffered at sea, or may enter their ports for repairs, &c.

Art. 7. That both states shall use all their endeavours to put down corsairs equipped by individuals to the prejudice of national or neutral commerce, and that for this purpose, they grant each to the Judges or admiralty courts of the other, the power of condemning such corsairs as sail under either of their respective flags.

Art. 8. That each guarantee the integrity of the territory of the other, as it existed before the present war, recognizing as integral parts of each, all the provinces which, however governed before, have legitimately entered into the formation of each republic.

Art. 9. That the demarcation of that territory shall be subsequently determined.

Art. 10. This article, which is so important as to deserve particular notice, is as follows:—If unfortunately internal tranquillity should be disturbed in any portion of the above-mentioned state, by turbulent and seditious men, enemies of the Governments legitimately constituted by the will of a free people, quietly and peaceably expressed through their laws, both parties engage formally and solemnly to make common cause against such disturbers, assisting each other as much as lies in their power, to establish order, and to restore the empire of the laws.

Art. 11. Every person exciting disturbance in one of the allied states, and flying to another, shall be given up.

Art. 12. To draw faster the bonds of amity, and to remove difficulties which might occasion a breach of harmony, each state shall appoint two Plenipotentiaries, with the powers of Ambassadors, to meet and settle points of common interest under this treaty.

Art. 13. Both parties engage to interpose their good offices with the other Governments of Spanish America, to induce them to join this league.

Art. 14. As soon as this great and important object shall have been obtained, a general assembly of the American States, composed of representatives from each, shall meet to cement in a more solid manner the relations of amity which ought to exist between them all and each, to serve as a kind of council in great conflicts, and to be a point of union in common dangers.

Art. 15. The Isthmus of Panama being an integral part of Colombia, and the place best fitted for this august meeting, the Republic of Colombia engages to lend to the American deputies, sent to this assembly, all the aid to which hospitality prompts, and which the sacred character of these deputies demands.

Art. 16. Mexico makes the same engagement, should the General American Assembly choose to meet on the Mexican territory.

Art. 17. Provides that this treaty shall in no way interfere with the separate sovereignty of each state.

Art. 18. Fixes the law for the ratification of the treaty.

This treaty was ratified by the Government of Colombia at Bogota, on 30th of June, with the exception of the 10th, a part of the 11th, and a part of the 14th articles.

Communications from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Colombia relative to the rights of that State to the exclusive trade of the Indian Coast, addressed to His Excellency Vice Admiral Sir Lawrence Halsted, K. C. B. Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the West Indies, &c.

[Although this diplomatic document relates in particular to commercial affairs, we insert it among the historical documents, on account of the question of sovereignty which it involves.]

Secretary of State's-office for Foreign Affairs,
Bogota, June 19, 1824.

To his Excellency Vice-Admiral Sir Lawrence Halsted, K. C. B., Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the West Indies, &c.

Sir,—Colonel Hamilton, his Britannic Majesty's principal Commissioner to the Colombian Government, has had the kindness to deliver to me your Excellency's communication of the 30th of April last, relative to the trade now carrying on between the island of Jamaica and the coasts of the Mosquitos of Darien and Goagira, accompanied by a copy of the proceedings of a meeting of the merchants and underwriters, held in the city of Kingston, relative to the same subject; and having submitted your said communication to the consideration of the Executive, I am directed to make you the following reply:—

As far back as the year 1819, the provinces composing the old Captaincy-General of Venezuela, and the kingdom of the Grenada, were united into one single body under the name of 'Republic of Colombia.' Under our primitive fundamental law, as well as under that which was subsequently promulgated in a more solemn manner on the 18th of July, 1821, it was decreed that the boundaries of the Republics should be the same as those of Venezuela and of New Grenada, when those countries were subject to the jurisdiction of the King of Spain.

Long before this important act of the union had passed, the limits of New Grenada were perfectly defined, and laid down. They reached from the coasts in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, as far as Cape Gracios a Dios, including the island of Saint Andres, and others adjacent to it. The part of the coast from Cape Gracios a Dios to the river Chagres appertained for some time to the Captaincy-General of Guatimala; but all this territory was finally incorporated with New Grenada, on the 30th of November, 1803. Ever since that period, the Spanish Authorities exercised over this part of the country, as well as over the other provinces under their jurisdiction, all those acts attendant on the power and dominion which Spain maintained over the lands (as well cultivated as uncultivated) of New Grenada, the possession of which is now completely vested in the republic of Colombia.

The merchants and underwriters of Jamaica know perfectly well, that although the British Authorities countenanced their trade with the neighbouring coasts, belonging to the country, their persons, vessels and cargoes, were nevertheless constantly exposed to the vigilance of the Spanish guarda costas, and to the risk of being captured by them, whenever they might be detected trading on the same coast. While the Spanish government existed here, its orders on this head were attended to and carried into execution in the most vigorous manner; and I can assure your Excellency, that until the year 1819, vessels from Jamaica were condemned at Carthagena, without their ever having been reclaimed by the British government, this traffic being considered illegal, according to the law of all civilized nations; and in truth, it is very evident, that one of the most essential rights inherent in power and dominion, is that which every country ought to possess of regulating its internal and external commerce, in the manner that may appear most just and convenient to its own interests.

During this long war, the Colombian government abstained nevertheless, from making use of its right, until it had

completed the possession of her territory; the attainment of which object gave rise to the present contest.

Having now fully established this possession, by means of the victories that have been obtained by the Colombian arms over the Spaniards, the empire of the republic remained, in fact, and by right, established over the territory of ancient New Grenada and Venezuela; and it was under these circumstances, that the government issued the order of the 9th of March, the suspension of which, you require, until it may be made known to His Britannic Majesty's government, and until satisfactory arrangements can be made on behalf of all parties concerned.

Permit me, however, to observe to your Excellency, that the Colombian government does not see any necessity for this suspension. The before-mentioned order does not lay down any thing contrary to the provisions of the ancient law—far from it: the relations of the merchants of Jamaica with the uncultivated coasts of Colombia are now placed upon a much more advantageous footing, than that upon which they were, under the ancient dominion of Spain. These relations may, in time, be rendered still better, and some restrictions may even be abolished; but this must be the result of a special agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government, as soon as the Republic of Colombia shall have been finally acknowledged.

What I have now stated appears to me sufficient to expose the futility of the grounds upon which the merchants and underwriters of Jamaica have founded the documents which they addressed to you. Although the Republic has not any establishment on these coasts, this is no reason why she should not exercise over them the dominion and power which she has lawfully acquired. Such a principle would be pernicious to the peace and tranquillity of the civilized world, and would give rise to endless discords and disgusts.

Give me leave to add another reason, which is intimately connected with the repose of Colombia, in the actual state of warfare in which she is unfortunately engaged. The Spaniards have on several occasions availed themselves of the savages, in order to increase the horrors and calamities of the struggle. It is very probable, now that they do not possess one single spot of land in this country, that they may renew their intrigues with those wandering tribes, who have no home whatever, and whom it is but too easy to employ when they are permitted to carry death, pillage, and desolation among their neighbours. Humanity requires, then, that every legal means should be resorted to that may tend to prevent such a horrid state of things; and I trust, your Excellency, that no measure is, or can be so efficacious as the prohibition of every kind of foreign trade with them direct.

The direct trade—that is, the trade carried on from our ports in national and foreign vessels, with Goagira, Darien, and the part of the Mosquito coast belonging to Colombia—is permitted by my Government in the most liberal form. Such vessels as may be desirous of communicating with these coasts, and of trading with the savages, have no other obligation to fulfil than that of coming to the nearest port open to foreign trade, and of entering at the custom house their respective cargoes, from which must be excluded all articles generally known by the name of “contraband of war,” paying no other duty than twelve reals per ton. After complying with this formality, the vessel may proceed to the part of the savage coast to which she is bound, without being exposed to the slightest trouble or vexation from the guarda costas of the Republic.

This practice, as rational as it is just, is already in force and vigour in several parts, especially in Goagira, and all have submitted to it without any kind of repugnance. And it is to be presumed that the merchants and underwriters will prefer a

secure and legal trade, like the one offered to them by these means, to another, like the former one, which was constantly subject to accidents of a prejudicial nature to their interests.

In the mean time, the Colombian Government trusts that your Excellency will feel satisfied that the trade direct from Jamaica to the uncultivated coasts of Colombia is illegal; and that as such it cannot receive the protection which the merchants and underwriters have requested. With sentiments of the greatest respect and consideration, I have the honour to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

PEDRO GUAL.

The following letters on this subject were received by his Honour the Mayor, from Vice-Admiral Sir L. W. Halsted, K. C. B.:—

Serapis, Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica, Aug. 23.

Sir,—With reference to my letter to you of the 30th of April last, relative to the trade with the Indians on the Mosquito shore, I beg you will be pleased to make known, in the usual manner, for the information of those interested therein, the enclosed copy of a letter I have received from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Colombian Republic, in reply to the representations I made on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

L. W. HALSTED,

Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

To his Honour the Mayor of Kingston.

MEXICO.

Decree of the Supreme Executive Power, abolishing Slavery in Mexico.

The Supreme Executive Power named provisionally by the Sovereign General Constituent Congress, to all those who shall see or hear these presents, declares—

1. That there shall be forever abolished in the territory of

the United Mexican States the trade and traffic in slaves, coming from any power, and under any flag.

2. The slaves who may be introduced against the tenour of the foregoing article, shall be free *ipso facto* by their treading the Mexican territory.

3. Every ship, whether national or foreign, in which slaves are transported or introduced into the Mexican territory, shall be irrecoverably confiscated, with the remainder of its cargo; and the proprietor and the purchaser, the captain, the master, and the pilot, shall suffer ten years imprisonment.

4. This law shall take effect from the day of its publication; but in as far as regards the penalties prescribed in the foregoing article, they shall not take effect till six months afterwards with respect to the colonists, who, in virtue of the law of the 14th of October last, respecting the colonization of the Isthmus of Huazacohualcos, land slaves with the object of introducing them into the Mexican territory.

The Supreme Executive Power shall consider this as understood, and shall arrange what is necessary to its execution, causing it to be printed, published, and circulated.

IGNACIO SALDIVAR, President.

DEMETRIO DEL CASTELLO, Secretary.

JOSE IGNACIO GONZALEZ CORAALMURO, Sec.

Mexico, July 13th, 1824.

We therefore command all tribunals, courts of justice, chiefs, governors, and other authorities, civil, military and ecclesiastical, of whatever class or dignity, that they cause to be kept, fulfilled and executed, the present decree, in all its parts.

GUADALUPE VICTORIA, President.

MIGUEL DOAINGUEZ.

VICENTE GUERRERO.

Mexico, July 14th, 1824.

UNITED STATES.

Treaty agreed on and concluded between the United States and Russia, on the 17th of April, 1824.

The first article authorises the free navigation of the Pacific Ocean by the two contracting powers, and acknowledges the right of fishery and of disembarkation on all the unoccupied portions of the north east coast, but only for the purpose of trading with the inhabitants of the country.

According to the second article the subjects of either nation cannot land on such parts as are occupied by the other, without permission from the governor or commander.

The third article fixes the boundary line at 54°. The United States are not to form any establishment northward, or the Russians to advance southward of this line.

The fourth grants to both nations, for the space of ten years, the right of entry into all the gulfs, ports &c. of either nation, for the purposes of fishing and trading with the natives.

The fifth prohibits the trading in fire-arms and spirituous liquors. The violation of this article to be punished, not by the confiscation of the vessel, but by punishments which shall be awarded by both governments to their respective subjects.

The sixth announces that the ratification of this treaty shall take place within ten months from its date.



The American Monitor.

In the Introduction to this work, we presented a brief and rapid sketch of the principal features which three months ago distinguished the political and moral condition of South America. The facts of which we gave this summary enumeration, must be classed under two distinct heads. Each of these collections of facts is followed by a chain of consequences, which must by no means be confounded. The former brings to view the rapid and resistless impulse of South America, towards general independence; the latter, the varying course of local circumstances, arising out of this grand agitation. These cannot acquire stability, until the political existence of America be placed upon the basis which religion, justice, humanity, and time, that resistless arbiter of human affairs, imperiously demand.

In our attempt to discriminate, as exactly as possible, what may be regarded as permanent in the present condition of America, and what as transitory, we shewed that the separation from Europe, being completely effected in the popular will and feeling, in the physical wants, and in the moral strength of the nation, ought to be regarded as already accomplished. With regard to the particular and internal regeneration of the emancipated states, we ventured to pronounce our opinion, that their ultimate destiny is still envelop-

ed in clouds, that it may be exposed to a thousand different casualties, and may assume the most unexpected forms. In other words, we said that the transition was one of great difficulty, and that America ought to be upon her guard lest she exchange the evils of despotism for those of anarchy.

We shall, for the present, pursue exclusively our enquiry concerning the progress South America has made towards securing her general independence; and shall postpone to a succeeding number, the consideration of the internal political structure of the different states. * No event has recently occurred, which offers any material obstacle to the formation of institutions calculated to secure the internal order and tranquillity of the several states.

We before asserted, that the re-establishment of the relations formerly existing between Europe and America must encounter immense obstacles—we now go further, and affirm that South America is for ever lost to the two parent countries, whose absurd policy daily sacrifices to the phantom of sovereignty, those immense advantages which they might have derived from their long and intimate connection with the old colonies.

This is not a question of opinion, but of fact. It appears to us, that our readers have only to reflect on the perfectly contrary aspect presented by the American states, and by the two European nations who

* The Editors of the American Monitor intend successively to lay before their readers a critical examination of each of the political constitutions which govern the new States of South America. That of Chili will form the subject of an article in our next Number.

claim dominion over them, in order to share our conviction.

In the former, we see a powerful and active tendency towards reform, we are struck by their progressive improvement, by their incessant activity; while, in Spain and Portugal, all the elements of political and of social order are rapidly falling into a state of decay which threatens their inevitable dissolution. Who could conceive that Spain, gangrened and paralysed as she is, would persist in attempting to reduce under her iron yoke five or six nations full of youth and vigour, whose rapidity and energy in the career of improvement and of prosperity, is as striking, as the decrepitude of Spain is manifest and incurable.

We ventured, in our former Number, to conduct our readers through the labyrinth of the blind and dilatory policy of Spain towards her colonies, both before and after the first insurrections which fourteen years ago, broke out in her trans-atlantic possessions; we took a rapid survey of the unbroken series of errors and of crimes, which marked all her acts, up to the time of the catastrophe of Cadiz. Let us now drop all consideration of these more remote circumstances, and begin our review of the conduct of the king of Spain from the moment, when, being restored to the full enjoyment of what he calls his legitimate rights, he might have laid the foundation of a policy, calculated in some degree to alleviate the innumerable evils which his mischievous hand had scattered over the two hemispheres. Let us then compare this tissue of sanguinary absurdities with the conduct of those Americans called, by the Holy Alliance, rebels. With this parallel before our eyes, we may then enquire whether there exists

a truly upright and philanthropic man who can still hesitate whether to incline to the side of Spain or of America.

What, in fact, ought to have been the conduct of Ferdinand VII. after the restoration of 1822, and what has it been? The wounds of Spain were, doubtless, deep, but not incurable; and it is evident, that a policy, by no means eminent for talent or ability, but simply guided by the dictates of common sense, might have extracted from the deplorable condition of Spain at that moment, materials for re-establishing the throne in the love of the people, and in the respect of Europe. The first act of restored power might have given new life and activity to the expiring body-politic; but, to effect this object, however little attention had been paid to the exaggerations of demagogues, the lessons of experience ought not to have been disregarded. The poniard of revenge ought not to have been substituted for the sword of justice; the present state of public opinion, which is hostile to proscriptions and to gibbets, ought not to have been outraged; care ought to have been taken inseparably to associate in the minds of the people, the ideas of truth, justice and clemency, with the name of king. The Spanish monarch had identified himself with all the acts of the Cortes; they had received his sanction and were executed in his name. It was surely enough to repeal them, without giving to this repeal a retroactive effect by which thousands of victims were devoted to death. The king had solemnly recognized the solidity of the engagements contracted by the Cortes with the national creditors; he had received the product of the loans obtained from foreigners under the guarantee of his royal word. He

ought not to have exhibited to Europe the spectacle of the most shameless and iniquitous bankruptcy which ever scandalized the world. The people were worn out by convulsions, and all minds inclined towards union and confidence; the exercise of the sovereign power had no longer to encounter the slightest hostility or obstruction.

Ferdinand ought to have curbed the fury of vengeful passions, and instead of abandoning himself a third time to the intrigues of sanguinary fanatics, he ought to have assembled around him wise and moderate men capable of defending the true interests of the crown, and of labouring with success for the restoration of Spain. The constitution of Cadiz had ceased to exist, nor did it, it is true, deserve to be re-called to life; but the Crown might, without any sacrifice or limitation of its power, have revived the ancient national securities against misgovernment. These would have satisfied the general desire for a constitution; which recent events had awakened, and would have excited a universal sentiment of gratitude.

Philosophy, narrow and feeble as was her empire in Spain, had sufficient force to throw down the walls of a tribunal, whose name alone affrights humanity. The government ought to have rased them to the very foundations, and thus to have given a pledge, that punishment by torture would never again be resorted to. The wealth illegally acquired, by certain unproductive corporate bodies had been destined to supply some of the most urgent wants of the state. These wants ought not to have been disregarded for the sake of making restitutions which were neither commanded by equity, nor exacted by the wants of the clergy.

Lastly, the colonial sovereignty of Spain was lost. Her utter inability to regain it was so manifest, that nothing remained but to enter into friendly negotiations with America, who would have received them with joy, and to reconcile her inevitable independence with the commercial and political interests of the mother-country.

So far from any such course of action having been adopted, prudence was utterly disregarded. The insatiable and inhuman faction, which instigates the acts of the stupid and ferocious despot to whom Spain is subject, breathed nothing but fury and revenge, and proclaimed the bloody anarchy which desolates that unhappy country. Moderation is a crime, whoever is not furious is suspected; assassinations, iniquitous condemnations, proscriptions, succeed and produce each other with a dreadful rapidity; proclamations, which appear to be dictated by the atrocious spirits of Joseph Lebon and Fouquier Tainville affright the civilized world; and, to complete the horrible confusion, men of the most tried loyalty, if they refuse to become instruments of this sanguinary madness, are thrown into the same dungeons with those whom they so lately combated.

Commerce, industry, public credit, which alone could regenerate Spain and enable her to fulfil her engagements, are driven from her shores. The spectacle which she exhibits is, in a word, too horrible to be contemplated without shuddering. Thanks to the atrocious character of her government, we see there a mob, thirsting for carnage, monks assassinating with the crucifix in their hands, grandees despoiled and banished, ministers, dragged from the cabinet to

the dungeon, and a king, who inspires nothing but contempt, aversion, distrust and terror, 'destroying with one hand the party he has vanquished, and with the other, averting from his breast the poniards of that which he has raised.

And it is from the midst of this bloody chaos that the insolent voice which summons South America to return to its allegiance, arises. Madmen, is not the abyss which surrounds you vast enough? Must you run to seek destruction in another hemisphere? Look at America, and renounce your absurd pretensions; see with what courage, what perseverance, she daily secures and fortifies her national independence; with what wisdom and ability she profits by your absurdities to create a credit, and to raise herself to the level of the most powerful and civilized nations, whilst you are fast relapsing into darkness and barbarism.

What a contrast does the insane tyranny of the Spanish government, present to the external and internal policy of the American states! Their wise and provident policy, every day draws closer the ties which bind together the republics of La Plata, Colombia, Mexico, Chili and Peru; and affords an example, hitherto unprecedented, of a diplomatic system founded solely upon sincerity and honour.

We are assured that as soon as the pacification of Peru shall be accomplished, representatives of all these states are to meet in congress at Panama, to determine the basis of a new federal system; unanimously to demand of Europe the acknowledgment of American independence, and, in case of a continued refusal on the part of some cabinets, to devise means of restricting their commercial relations to those governments,

who shall frankly and sincerely recognize their political rights. If this project is realized, (of which, the positive assurances of our correspondent leave us little doubt), the American Congress will form a glorious contrast to those with which Europe has been afflicted for the last ten years. The doctrines which will govern the proceedings of the former will be a severe satire upon the maxims professed by the latter; and their respective deliberations will enable posterity to appreciate the two antagonist principles which, in the nineteenth century, dispute the empire of the world.

If we direct our attention to the internal constitution of the South American republics, we are equally struck by the wisdom of the laws and regulations to which every day gives birth. All, with a few exceptions which we shall shortly notice, are characterized by stability, prudence and vigour. We may instance the report made on the 3rd of March by the executive government of Buenos Ayres, at the opening of the legislative session. We see, with astonishment, the important reform effected in every department of the state. Policy, war, agriculture, manufactures, finance, commerce, arts and sciences, have all occupied the attention of an administration, which has raised the national credit to a pitch rarely attained by the most stable governments of the Old World. The public funds of Buenos Ayres were lately at 95 for the 6 per cents, and 2,700 for Bank shares of 1000 dollars each, whilst Spanish vales are at 20 on the European market, where her government vainly begs a few thousand pistoles, at any rate which it may please the lenders to

demand. This affords an accurate test of the strength of the colonies and of the weakness of the mother country.

In COLOMBIA, the government is conducted with equal regularity. Justice is administered with perfect impartiality, canals are dug, roads constructed, a sinking fund established for the discharge of the national debt, and for the punctual payment of the interest; privileges are judiciously granted to foreign commerce, in order to draw to the republic the industry and capital of Europe. Schools are opened in all directions, taxes are diminished whenever the public burdens render it practicable; and whilst Spain is again delivered over to all the horrors of fanaticism, whilst its government re-kindles the fires of the Holy Office, and re-establishes the omnipotence of the priesthood, the legislature of Colombia has just passed a decree, in virtue of which the government, although impressed with the deepest veneration for the religion of the state, nevertheless reserves to itself the presentation to ecclesiastical benefices; thus preventing the nation from becoming tributary to a foreign power, or from being subject to that *imperium in imperio*, a clergy independent of the republic. *

PERU, though still wasted by the double scourge of intestine and of foreign warfare, exhibits, wherever Spanish despotism does not repress the national spirit, a strong tendency towards the adoption and maintenance of the principles engendered by the revolution. One of the most striking features of that revolution

* This law suggests to us some reflections which cannot find place in this Number, but to which we shall shortly recur.

is the rapidity with which civilization thrives in Peru, the moment barbarism is uprooted from her soil. Among other remarkable points of contrast, we may mention, that while Spain is become a perfect Tauris, not approachable by strangers without dread and danger, the Peruvian government has adopted the wisest measures for encouraging the naturalization of foreigners.

CHILI also perseveringly labours to accomplish her regeneration. We must, indeed, acknowledge that we fear the constitution she has just adopted will be found in some respects difficult of application. It appears to us to contain, among many wise enactments, some which are founded rather upon theoretical maxims and abstractions, than upon a consideration of existing circumstances.

It is, nevertheless, unquestionable that the greater part of the institutions of Chili are marked by a spirit of moderation, and that the conduct of the people, (who possess, perhaps, too large a portion of power) justifies the hope that the government will soon assume that character of order and stability which affords the best security for the public happiness.

To attain this end, the people have only to make a slight sacrifice to those lessons of experience which teach, that it is for the interest of all civilized societies, under whatever names they may be known, to give to the executive power the strength and dignity which are necessary to render it efficient.

In MEXICO, every thing wears the most flourishing aspect. The germs of civil war, which seemed ready to break forth in some of the provinces, have been crushed without difficulty. Extensive manufactories

and public establishments are daily formed ; the working of mines is undertaken on a system, promising such beneficial results, that the shares in those of *Real del Monte* have experienced the almost incredible advance of from £400 to £700 on the London market ; £40 only of the original sum having been actually deposited.

Several plans for opening new lines of roads, and for cutting canals, have already begun to be executed.

Lastly, the Mexicans, after fourteen years spent in perilous trials and experiments, have just established a constitution, in which, as in that of the United States, the principle of the three powers is wisely adopted. By an act of prudence, which may, perhaps, to some violent reformers appear to involve a contradiction, at the same moment that the government ordered public rejoicings in honour of the elevation of the present Pope to the chair of Saint Peter, Congress passed a decree, by which public instruction, subject to no other limits than the present boundaries of human knowledge, is provided for and encouraged. This, we may just observe, is a conclusive proof that religious enthusiasm, carried even to bigotry, is not incompatible with the most ardent zeal in the cause of liberty. A recent act of the Mexican government affords a pretty exact criterion of its moral character, as contrasted with that of the government of Spain. At the very time that Ferdinand distributed large rewards to the priests and ruffians who arrested the man to whom he owed his life—the unfortunate Riego—the federal congress granted a considerable pension to the widow and children of Iturbide. History will record this fact as an illustration of the injustice of those, who

wish to see America reduced under the sway of a savage and brutal tyrant.

We have now presented a brief, but, we think, striking parallel, between the physical and moral powers with which Spain attacks, and those with which America resists. We have shewn the means by which the former endeavours to re-establish a detested tyranny, and the latter to maintain a universally-desired independence. On the one side, we see prisons, tombs and ruins, peopled by Vandals, the actors or the sufferers in the unceasing work of destruction; on the other, we behold the development of the entire resources of an immense population, all intent on securing liberty, resolute in casting the past behind them, and in seizing a happier future; for this end, acting with all the weight of large, and with all the activity of small bodies; so much the more resistless in their progress, as they are not hurried on by a wild fanaticism for liberty, but actuated by a calm and steadfast determination to obtain their rights.

No; twenty millions of men of such a stamp will not again suffer themselves to be disunited by one. One man cannot annihilate all that nature, and fourteen years of heroic labour, have done for America. To accomplish this, the genius of destruction must be busy indeed.

Portugal is certainly very far from exhibiting the same deplorable spectacle as Spain. The contrast between her situation and that of the empire of Brasil is, nevertheless, relatively as great as that which we have just shewn to exist between Spain and her old colonies; for if, on the one hand, we find less confusion and misery, on the other, we perceive more order, more

happiness, more consistency, a frame of society more firmly and perfectly constituted, and promising a longer and more settled futurity. Let us attend to the general aspect of the two countries, and form our judgment upon the existing facts; leaving out of the calculation the merit of obstacles overcome, a merit which, it will be acknowledged, was entirely on the side of Brasil.

No one will be found to deny that, immediately after the dissolution of the Cortes of Lisbon, the Portuguese government was placed in a situation extremely favourable for repairing her losses of every description; even that of her American colonies, which then offered to her exclusively, all the advantages and indemnifications compatible with their own independence. This independence it was no longer in her power to destroy—nothing remained for her but to make the best terms she could. What was the conduct of Portugal at this decisive juncture? She shut her eyes against evidence, she resisted without means of resistance, and rushed upon impossibilities. For this conduct, she had even less excuse than the cabinet of Madrid; for she might easily have bound Brasil to the mother-country by ties which cannot subsist between Spain and her colonies.

Perhaps it is not, even now, too late. The situation of Brasil, in fact, offers facilities for establishing an intimate connexion with the mother-country, which none of the American possessions of Spain enjoy. A descendant of the house of Braganza, the heir of the throne of Portugal, is the reigning sovereign of Brasil, so that, even if the independence of the latter were ac-

known, the two countries must still remain united.

The alliance of Brasil would surely be worth purchasing at the price of so small a concession as the recognition of an independence already established. From this measure the two countries would derive reciprocal advantages, which neither of them, and more especially Portugal, can enjoy under any other system. But such a line of policy was too direct and rational to find immediate adoption at the hands of the Portuguese ministry. They chose to involve so simple a question in gratuitous perplexity, to perpetuate the difficulties of the two nations, in order to assume some importance in the eyes of Europe, and to hide their perfect incapacity and nothingness, under the pretence of having obstacles to overcome.

Thus, in an age in which great display is made of philosophy, an age in which nothing is heard of but the "*Rights of Man*," whole nations are sacrificed with impunity to the profound stupidity and to the vanity of an individual. Indeed, when we see M. de Pamplona (for it is better to call people by their names) sport thus with the welfare of Portugal, we are tempted to exclaim, Let us go back to old times.

Exhibiting the same incapacity in the conduct of internal affairs, as in that of foreign relations, the following are briefly the results of the dilatory policy of the Portuguese minister during two years of tergiversation, of petty intrigues, of despicable plots, of erroneous measures, of deceptions, of nothings. A total want of the fundamental laws which the state of the public mind and the physical wants of the people imperiously demand, and consequent general disaffection

towards government; an administration composed of the servile tools of a single man who assembles around him a handful of people, eager for intrigues and for plunder, supplying the deficiency of their numbers by their pertinacity, combining all the elements of discord for their own advantage, strengthening prejudice, ambition, and terror, using religion as a shield, and the Holy Alliance as a support, fomenting every passion, and cringing to every interest, excepting to those of the Portuguese nation; a clergy but pointing to Heaven, looking towards Rome, claiming all that can be claimed in the name of God and of the Pope; a nobility, uncertain in what quarter the royal authority really resides, becoming partisans of the different members of the royal family, deserting the throne, and threatening the state with an impending and sanguinary division; an army habituated by the imprudence of its rulers to counterfeit insurrections, until it will learn to effect them in reality; an universal depression, under the influence of which the national energy is gradually wasted, and the national character obliterated; a number of merchants, farmers, tradesmen, men useful in various ways, disgusted by the vexations and the blunders of administration, falling into a state of inaction, forsaking commerce and industry, and looking forward to no beneficial change but what may be hoped for from time and from new revolutions; two hundred and seventy-nine manufactures out of four hundred and forty six abandoned in the course of two years;* and, to crown

* See section on commerce, account of the manufactures now existing in Lisbon, &c., &c.

this catalogue of evils, a ministry which derives its existence and support from these manifold abuses, trying to perpetuate, and to reconcile them with its public and private situation; a ministry paid by foreign powers to govern, but incapable of governing, and subserving the bad passions of others, in order to gratify its own.

In Brasil, how different is the state of affairs! Not to speak of the merits of a prince, whose actions speak aloud, and who needs not our praises, we there see power in the hands of men who are acquainted with other arts of governing than those of deceit and corruption,—of men whose sincerity, uprightness and probity, entitle them to a place in the councils of a monarch, by whom that power could soon be resumed if they served any other interests than those of Brasil and of the constitutional throne which she has established. What an immense advance have they made within a few months! But recently, present instability and future dangers, obstacles in short of all kinds, were opposed to the regenerations of Brasil. Now, all difficulties vanish before her; every thing tends to strengthen the unanimous agreement of opinion on the important subject of the form of her government; every kind of resistance has disappeared, and partial discontents are now lost in the national unanimity. Pernambuco has afforded the Brazilians a salutary specimen of the effects of those presumptuous theories, which captivate inexperienced men. They see what these doctrines are worth, and after this experiment in licentiousness, they return with joy to the enjoyment of a well-regulated liberty, and shudder at the bare thought

of a revolution. They possess a constitution, under which no man can be oppressed with impunity ; and lastly, they have a sovereign who leaves them nothing to desire. To the Emperor may be applied what was said of Henry IV. " His Majesty protects royalty from oppression, his people from foreign aggression, justice from abuse ;" so certainly must the success of his enterprise correspond with the excellence of his cause, that the ruin of his enemies is inevitable.

If we are asked by what proofs it may be known, that he is such as we describe him, we answer, by a constitution, no sooner promised than promulgated ; by the order and rapidity of elections ; by regulations which have no other tendency than to bring all branches of administration into harmony with the grand principle of representative government ; by the severe economy which pervades every part of the public service ; by the discipline of a purely national army ; by the attention devoted to agriculture, commerce, manufacture, and the arts and sciences ; by the state of public credit which is daily gaining strength ; by the respect which all foreign powers, even those most hostile to the principle of American independence, to pay the new empire ; by the powerful interest taken by England in all its concerns ; by the formal recognition of its independence, (no longer a matter of uncertainty), on the part of the United States ;* and lastly, by the gradual

* Letters received from Rio de Janeiro confirmed by others from New York, contain the intelligence that the president of the United States has formally acknowledged the independence of Brasil under the government of Don Pedro, the reigning monarch.

but perfect amalgamation of old with new interests, that is to say, of the natives with the Portuguese, who shew the strongest desire to unite, without distinction, under a government equally favourable to all.

Let not Portugal think to throw doubt upon this fact, by the mention of some obscure and partial discontents, which are now at an end ; let her look at the mass of the people, and say whether they took any part in those disgraceful scenes.

The mass of the people is actively and perseveringly pressing on in that career of knowledge and intelligence first opened to them by the revolution—by them let Brasil be judged.

Such is the result of an attentive observation of the respective situations of Spain and her revolted colonies, of Portugal and Brasil. We hope, that by simply placing them in comparison, we have proved to demonstration that the pretensions of the two mother-countries to subjugate the vast nations which have fortunately escaped from their grasp, is perfect madness ; that on their side are all the obstacles ; on the side of the young states all the vigour and all the resources.



WAR, AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

Faithful to the law we had prescribed to ourselves, to write nothing but as dictated by our conscience, and to render impartial and strict justice to every one, of whatever country or party, whose political conduct it may be our duty to delineate, we said, in our preceding Number, "It is not only by proofs of the most unbounded devotion, that the royalist and independent generals are signalling their conduct in defence of the adverse interests which actuate them; in talent and in knowledge, they also vie with each other which shall most completely render fortune subservient to the combinations of his genius."—Fortune has decided, and victory, which had so long remained uncertain, appears at length to have taken refuge in the ranks of the defenders of American liberty; but if the star of the royalist generals lost its lustre before the genius of the republic, it is neither to the courage nor to the talents of its adversaries that the Spanish monarchy can attribute the signal check it has just received in the plains of Peru. Discord, and not cowardice betrayed the camp of the Greeks to the Hector of the New World; which, for the happiness of mankind, has nothing to dread from the arms of Achilles. Heaven is not divided between the Americans and the Spaniards; the deities who preside over the destinies of men, have declared in favour of the New World.

The opponents, however, of Bolivar, divided by civil war, and pressed on all sides by the hero of Colombia, are still sustaining a desperate struggle, which claims for their unyielding bravery the admiration of the world, and secures to them the satisfaction of an honourable submission. When, indeed, we contemplate Valdes and Canterac obliged to make head at the same moment against the revolted troops of Olaneta, and the combined army of Peru and Colombia, defending every inch of ground, and neutralising the united efforts of their enemies, we cannot but feel deep regret that the Spanish warriors should be fighting in so bad a cause.

In recalling our attention to the entire military situation of South America, from Cape Horn to the Gulf of Mexico, we find that, with some few exceptions, the theatre of war is such as we described it in our preceding Number, viz. that Peru is the only point in which hostilities are continued on a vast scale, and with varied chances of success or of failure.

The government of Buenos Ayres is occupied in augmenting the army of observation stationed at Salta, for the protection of its frontiers, in the improbable event of the royalists obtaining a partial success in Peru; but this excess of precaution which, however, is an additional guarantee that the tranquillity of the provinces of the republic of Plata will not be interrupted, has given rise to no operation or movement worthy of fixing the attention of our readers; for we cannot consider as such the anticipated incursion of some Indian hordes, against which the government of Buenos Ayres

has judged proper to adopt some measures of little importance.

Chili, ever faithful to her offensive and defensive alliance against Spain, is also levying troops and equipping transports destined to act in conjunction with the Colombian army at Peru, if circumstances should require her co-operation, which appears not likely to be the case. No ostensible preparations have been made for a new attack upon the isle of Chiloe, and, with the exception of some solitary instances of success, obtained by ships of the Republic, over the remains of the Spanish navy, such as the capture of the Quintanilla, and that of the armed vessel *Vejia* equipped at Chiloe, and having on board 150,000 dollars, taken by the brigantine the Congress, Chili offers nothing remarkable, under a military point of view.

Colombia, now, for a considerable time, freed from the presence of the enemy, whom she is pursuing far from her frontiers, presents to our observation, in a military point of view, only some internal movements of troops, intended as a reinforcement of the army of the Liberator, in Peru. But it appears, according to the latest news from Carthagena and Porto-Cabello, that a body of four thousand men has united, under the orders of General Vallerio, at the former of these places; whence it would already have sailed for the coasts of Peru, had not General Bolivar believed that the fourteen thousand men, at the head of whom he found himself in the environs of Truxillo, together with the three thousand men of the army of Olaneta, would suffice to accomplish the object of the campaign. Some journals have announced that the corps of General Vallerio had

effected its debarkation, and its junction with the army of the Liberator; but this news is not confirmed. At all events, it is evident that the disposable corps of the general, combined, if needful, with the army of operation, constitutes a sufficient force to leave no doubt that the expulsion of the Spaniards from their last refuge in America will be the ultimate result of the campaign.

The insurrectionary movements which had burst forth in a part of Mexico have been rapidly suppressed, and, with the exception of the occupation of the fort of St. Juan de Ulloa, war seems to have completely disappeared in all parts of this magnificent country.

The latest news announces that Don Antonio Leon, who had risen against the federal government, had resigned the general command to Colonel Gomes, and returned at the head of his troops to Yanguelton and Huogatan; that the congress of Oajaca had been dissolved, and that the governor and the authorities had fled; that General Victoria had marched against the insurgents, and that the chief of the rebels, abandoned by his troops, had himself taken flight. The papers of the last days of the month of August contain a dispatch from General Victoria, dated from the province of Oajaca, announcing that Colonel Leon and his brother had surrendered at discretion, without the slightest resistance, to the federal troops. "I rejoice," says General Victoria, "at a success, which has cost neither blood nor tears, and which will prove to foreign nations that the Mexican government knows how to reconcile justice and the laws with the principles of humanity." Thus, the civil war, which threatened some parts of Mexico, seems to have terminated, and

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*will it have announced the military movements which
that we have rendered necessary.
it is now to consider Brasil and Peru, both of
which have just offered to the world a scene worthy
of the highest applause.* Brasil, quenching at Pernam-
buco the last flames of civil war, and arresting the dis-
orders of anarchy, has given to Europe a just idea of
the progress of public reason, in this beautiful part
of the Southern hemisphere; and the combined army
of Colombia and Peru, triumphing in the vallies of Su-
ria, over the last efforts of the gigantic power which,
for centuries, overawed the two worlds, afford a
proof of what may be accomplished by men who are
firmly resolved to be free, and who combat tyranny
under the auspices of religion, justice and humanity.

These two great events have, as we foresaw,
solved the double question whether the New World
would achieve its independence, and whether if affran-
chised, one of its most beautiful regions would become
a prey to the factious party who, under the mask of
that sacred liberty which they insult, were already
acting the parts of demagogues. In our opinion, the
taking of Pernambuco and the defeat of the Spaniards,

* We said, in the preceding Number, under the article "War,"
"Pernambuco, returning by the flight or arrest of Carvalho, to the true
sentiments of the greater part of its inhabitants, has, no doubt, by
this time, entered again into the bosom of the great Brazilian family,
or, if any perturbations still agitate her, it is certain that the reap-
pearance of the blockading fleet (whose removal for a few days may
be accounted for by the Emperor's humane feelings) acting conjointly
with the land forces directed on that point, will cause that province
to return easily and without effusion of blood under the obedience of
the legitimate power."

at Surin, may be considered as the solution of the problem. America will be free under governments of its own choice, and Brasil will be happy under the ægis of the constitutional monarch whose pure patriotism has awakened the nation to liberty, and who securely possesses the united wishes of the great Brazilian family.

The military events, which render these happy results almost certain, are differently related. According to the best informed journals, it appears that Lord Cochrane, having landed a body of a thousand men, some leagues from Pernambuco, entered the river at the head of the imperial squadron*, in order to effect the blockade of the city, the roads and the port; but the land forces not having effected a movement which was to take place simultaneously with the evolutions of the fleet, it was impossible for his lordship to commence

* In our preceding Number, we gave the statement of the land forces of the Brazilian empire: our readers will not be sorry to find here that of her ships of war; this statement will give them a view of the whole force which the Brazilian government has created almost by enchantment, and by the aid of which it has accomplished such important results.

PRESENT STATE OF THE BRAZILIAN IMPERIAL NAVY.

Ship of the Line. Don Pedro I.

Frigates. Piranga, Nitheroy, Paraguassu, Imperatriz.

Sloops of War. Carioca, Massajo, Maria de Gloria, Caramuru, Liberal.

Brigs. Guafani, Cacique, Maranhão, Bahia, Carvalho, Independencia ou Morte.

Transports. Caridade, Harmonia, Animo Grande.

And two brigs at Monte-Video; with a considerable number of armed schooners, sloops and gun-boats.

the general attack, which was to be made upon a combined plan ; that on the 12th of September, General Lima, commanding the imperial army, took possession of the city of Boa Vista, rapidly passed the bridge leading to Santo Antonio ; that the partisans of Carvalho precipitately abandoned this latter city, blowing up the bridge behind them, in order to arrest the imperial army ; that this circumstance compelled General Lima to establish his head quarters in the city of Santo Antonio, where he was joined by the principal inhabitants of the province ; that the troops of Carvalho, having rallied for a moment in the city of Recife, gave themselves up to the most licentious plunder, during which a great number of the inhabitants lost their lives ; that from this point Carvalho retired with some soldiers to an old fort, situated at some distance below the city, whence he was dislodged, on the morning of the 17th, by a detachment of four hundred marines, who, having landed by order of Lord Cochrane, under the command of Captain Norton, took by storm the last refuge of the republican chief, who fled on board the English ship of war, the Tweed ; and that Recife surrendered to the imperial arms.

Such is the substance of the different accounts hitherto given of the taking of Pernambuco, and of the discomfiture of the guilty faction, which was the only obstacle still opposed to the general pacification of Brasil. The private information, however, which we have received, induces us to believe that this statement is, in several of its details, inaccurate ; and, till we can offer to our readers an official account of this transaction, we will request them to form their opinion according to the relation made by Carvalho himself in

his justificatory letter to the editor of the Times, the 10th ult. However elaborate this letter, whatever efforts its author may have made to disguise his disgraceful and criminal conduct, it is sufficient to appeal to his own confessions, to be convinced that the faults of the hero of the Equator are neither an excess of patriotism nor an excess of bravery; he was afraid, he concealed himself, he fled; he sacrificed, even in the republican sense, the interests of his country to his personal safety; these truths appear in every line of the following letter.

To the Editor of the Times.

“Sir,—Having read sundry accounts in your paper of the capture of Pernambuco by the Imperial forces, I hope you will do me the favour to insert also this letter and the documents it contains. My property in Pernambuco would suffice to remove from the breast of every impartial person the most distant suspicion that I could have been actuated in my resistance to the dominion of the Emperor by any other motive than the purest desire to serve my native country. Private advantage could have no share in it. I had much to risk, and did not look forward, in whatever manner the struggle may terminate, to personal aggrandizement. After a long absence from my family, in consequence of the revolution of 1817, I had hoped, on my return home, to enjoy that repose with them to which I had been for some years a stranger: but preferring the interest of my country before all other considerations, I abandoned the gratification of my own inclination, by accepting, in compliance with the wishes of my countrymen, the charge to which their universal suffrages appointed me; and I feel proud in the conviction of having used my best exertions in a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in me. It is therefore with no small degree of surprise, that I observe I am

accused in one of the letters published in your paper, of having in a dastardly manner abandoned the army, and fled for refuge on board of an English frigate. Had I been solicitous for my own interest or safety, they would have been amply ensured by accepting the conditions offered by Lord Cochrane, as you will perceive from the copy of them enclosed. The following plain detail of facts will show that, situated as I was, I had only the alternative of claiming the hospitable protection of the British flag, or, in returning to Pernambuco, affording my enemies the opportunity of gratifying their vindictive and sanguinary inclinations.

At six in the morning of the 11th of September, I received a letter from Brigadier-General Lima, commander of the Imperial Army, dated at the Engenho of Suassiena, four leagues from the city, requiring the surrender of it. But, continuing true to the defence of Brazilian liberty, I immediately repaired to the general encampment, and, taking with me three hundred men, proceeded to reinforce the detachment stationed to impede the enemy's progress on the banks of the river Jaboutao, about a league from their head-quarters. After advancing about two leagues, we met a party of that detachment, which stated that they had been attacked and dispersed. It was consequently found necessary to fall back, and endeavour, if possible, to get into the city before the enemy's troops. But this proved equally impracticable, they being already in possession of part of it when we reached the bridge of Tocolumbo. A brisk fire being maintained, and rendering it impossible for me to enter the town by the land side, I ordered the troops with me to go round and join the main body of the army in attacking the enemy from the north side, while I, being anxious to get into the town to encourage and direct the defence made by the militia, the only force left in it, embarked in a jangada, in order to enter from the sea-side. On coming off the port, the jangadeiros positively refused to enter, as they feared being assassinated by the Imperial troops, who

kept up a constant fire. I was, therefore, forced to order them to take me on board his Britannic Majesty's ship *Tweed*, where I arrived at two o'clock in the morning, and was most kindly and hospitably received by Captain Hunn. Finding it impossible for me to join the besieged, I wrote to Commodore Jewett, with conditions of capitulation, copies of which are enclosed.

In the letter already alluded to, Captains Hunn and Wills are stated to have refused to receive two Englishmen on board, although they afforded me protection. I am not aware that any one had applied, and am fully persuaded that any request of the kind would have been complied with. I am also accused of having been inimical to the British interests. In denying this charge, I can safely assert, that as far as it was deemed consistent with the situation of the country, I at all times afforded every facility to the foreign trade and vessels in Pernambuco.

The desire of clearing my character from undeserved aspersion must be my excuse for this long letter.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

MANOEL DE CARVALHO PAES D'ANDRADE,

Ex-President of Pernambuco.

No. 3, City-terrace, City-road, 10th Nov. 1824.

On board His Imperial Majesty's ship *Pedro I.*, August 23, 1824.

Sir,—Being assured that His Imperial Majesty the Constitutional Emperor wishes for nothing so much as the prosperity and happiness of the provinces which compose the Brazilian empire, and that his ambition is to reign in the hearts of his people, and not by military force, I have judged it right to present to you the enclosed proposals, which I think are in conformity with the general interests of the empire, and particularly advantageous to the Provinces of Pernambuco; because the total destruction of the port and city, and a great diminution in the value of all kinds of property, may be by

these means prevented; as also the effusion of blood, executions, confiscations, and all the other evils attendant on civil war.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

COCHRANE MARANHÃO.

To His Excellency,

Manoel de Carvalho Paes d'Andrade, &c.

Proposals made by the first Admiral of Brasil to the Governor and inhabitants of Pernambuco.

1. His Imperial Majesty Don Pedro I., must be acknowledged Constitutional Emperor of Brasil.

2. Pernambuco, in conformity with the wish and example of a great majority of the provinces of the empire; will recognize and accept the liberal constitution offered by His Imperial Majesty, subject only to such alterations as may be deemed necessary to be made by the Legislative Assembly, the Senate, and His Imperial Majesty, which are the three states of the empire.

3. The leaders of the opposition to the Imperial authority have liberty to depart by sea to any place beyond the limits of the Brazilian empire, on signing a bond not to return without permission from His Imperial Majesty. And they have also liberty to take with them such property as *bonâ fide* belongs to them.

4. All those who took up arms at the instigation of the said leaders, on returning to their duty, and delivering up their arms before sunset on the 28th day of this current month of August, shall receive certificates of protection.

5. The fortresses, vessels of war, gun-boats, &c., must be placed under the authority of the first Admiral, before sun set of the said 28th of August. The first Admiral engages to employ them for the protection of those who shall conform to those orders prior to that period.

6. They must give an account of all property belonging to Government, including the balances in the Treasury, the Cus-

tóm-house, and other public departments, and of all debts due to Government; besides this, they must give an account of all captures made from the Portuguese, and pay their amount to the order of the first Admiral.

7. If the first Admiral receives advice of compliance with those conditions, twenty-four hours before sun-set of the 28th current, he pledges himself not to do any injury to the port, or to fire on, or bombard the town; or to take any hostile step whatever against the inhabitants of Pernambuco, whose persons, property, rights, and privileges, shall from that moment be considered entitled to the full protection of that force, of which it would otherwise be the painful duty to use all its hostilities.

On board the ship of war Pedro I., Aug. 23, 1824.

COCHRANE MARANHÃO.

Sir,—Being desirous of terminating the calamities of war, and not feeling inclined to treat with Brigadier Lima, I take the liberty addressing you with an offer of the annexed articles, which I hope will merit your approbation.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

MANOEL DE CARVALHO PAES D'ANDRADE.

David Jewett, Esq. Commodore of the Imperial
squadron off Pernambuco, Sept. 14, 1824.

*Proposals offered by the President for the surrender
of the Province of Pernambuco.*

1. The province shall be delivered up to the authorities appointed by his Imperial Majesty ten hours after the ratification of the present.

2. No person shall be persecuted for his political opinions, and every one be at liberty to remain or quit the country except the President.

3. The military officers to be secured their respective pay, whether they are continued or not in the Imperial service.

4. The President to be provided with a passage from Brazil.

MANOEL DE CARVALHO PAES D'ANDRADE.

Sept. 14, 1824

We cannot conceive how "the property of M. Carvalho in Pernambuco, would suffice to remove from the heart of every impartial person the most distant suspicion that he could have been actuated in his resistance to the dominion of the Emperor by any other motive than the purest desire to save his country." Whom does Carvalho pretend to persuade that the preservation of his patrimonial fortune could balance, in his mind, all the advantages he might derive from the anarchy at the head of which he had placed himself? As conqueror, had he not reason to expect to enjoy the fruits of a long dictatorship, and if conquered, was he not certain always to find at the last extremity, in the disposal of the public money, an ample compensation for the comparatively insignificant injury his private fortune might sustain? But Carvalho cannot even urge as an excuse, the pretence of disappointed expectations; it is impossible that he can have deceived himself respecting the necessary result of his rebellion; and it is the very conviction he must have felt of the approaching and inevitable submission of Pernambuco, that proves the culpability of his intentions; for he must have been struck with mental blindness not to perceive that a man, without name, without genius, without influence, supported merely by a handful of ambitious or imbecile persons, and forsaken by all the respectable citizens of that very place where he had established the seat of his short-lived tyranny, was incapable of resisting the attacks of

a lawful sovereign, respected, beloved, supported by the universal affection and consent of the nation, and having at his disposal, a greater force than was necessary to quell twenty insurrections of a nature similar to that of Carvalho. Not to be impressed with these acts and their natural consequences must have been the effect of madness, and this was proved even to demonstration in the last moments of the dominion of the ex-president of Pernambuco, and in the minute precautions he adopted for his safety. Now, it was with a knowledge of these facts, with premeditation, by calculation, and for his own exclusive advantage, that he incited, organized and promoted, by all the means in his power, an inefficient insurrection, which, he knew, would bring nothing but calamities upon his country.

Notwithstanding the indignation which every one must feel for the cowardice of Carvalho, it is difficult to suppress a smile, when he seriously complains in his letter to the editor of the Times, of being accused, by the public voice, "of having in a dastardly manner, abandoned the army, and fled for refuge on board an English frigate." But does he forget that his own account is the most irrefragable proof of his cowardice? How?—"true to the defence of Brazilian liberty?" he refuses to surrender to a summons made to him the 11th of September, by General Lima; he repairs immediately to his army; he detaches from it three hundred men, at the head of whom he advances to re-inforce the detachment, destined to arrest the progress of the enemy upon the banks of the Tabontaõ; he makes a march of two leagues, and then "he met a party of that

tachment which related that they had been attacked. It was, consequently, found necessary to fall back, and to endeavour, if possible, to enter the city before the enemy's troops" which the republican hero cannot accomplish, because the enemy "was already in possession of part of it, when he reached the bridge of Tocolombo;" here, the Pernambucan Scævola attempts neither to dislodge the enemy, nor to dispute, at the risk of perishing, the passage of the bridge; but "a brisk fire being maintained, and rendering it impossible for him to enter the town" (undoubtedly, without danger) "by the land side" he orders his troops "to go round and join the main body of the army, in attacking the enemy from the north side" whilst Carvalho "anxious to get into the town, to encourage and direct the defence made by the militia, embarked in a *jangada*, in order to enter from the sea-side." Here, then, we see Cæsar and his fortune, daring the irritated waves, and supplicating Heaven safely to conduct him to that brave militia, with whom he would courageously conquer, or bury himself in the ruins of Pernambuco. But, oh grief! oh cruel disappointment to a warlike soul! whilst the hero of the Equator anxiously implores of the gods only a propitious wind to lead him to victory or death, his *jagadeiro*, (boatman) less obedient than him who conducted the warrior of Rharsalia, "on coming off the port, positively refused to enter, as he feared being *assassinated* by the Imperial troops, who kept up "a constant fire," which obliged General Carvalho (without doubt, much against his inclination) to order his *jagadeiro* (who, this time, obeys without a murmur) to conduct him on board His Britannic Majesty's ship,

the Tweed, to which Heaven, the protector of the brave, had miraculously conveyed the fortune of the disappointed president, as well as the fair gains of his administration, "and where" says he very naively, "I arrived, at two o'clock in the morning, and was most kindly and hospitably received by Captain Lunn," which must certainly have been very satisfactory to the militia and republican army who, whilst they were waiting for the return of their chief, indulged themselves in the innocent gratification of assassinating the wretched inhabitants, and of gleaning in the field, which their respectable leader had reaped with undisturbed tranquillity.

Mean time, in tranquillity, and assurance of the preservation of his invaluable life, Carvalho hastens to write to Commodore Savett, sending him the misnamed capitulation which we have already inserted, by which capitulation, Carvalho, safe on board an English frigate ready to sail for Europe, carefully stipulates, by the 4th article, "The president to be provided with a passage from Brasil!!!" Here, naturally arises a reflexion fatal to Carvalho, and which superadds indignation to the contempt inspired by cowardice. Why, it is every one asked, did he not accept the capitulation offered him, some days before, by Lord Cochrane, in the name of the Emperor? Why did he not readily accede to proposals more favorable both to Pernambuco and to himself than those which he subsequently made? a capitulation, which imposed no severe conditions on the province, and which permitted the chiefs to retire wherever they pleased, and to take with them all their property. Why did he not, by this means, prevent the plunder of Recife, the assassination

of many worthy citizens, and other calamities which must weigh heavy upon his head? Might he not have foreseen on the 23rd August the events of the 11th September?—and could he entertain the slightest reasonable hope of resisting, much longer, the arms of the Emperor? No; and Carvalho was then as much convinced, as he is now, that Pernambuco could no longer withhold the obedience it owed to its lawful sovereign; but the treaty offered by Lord Cochrane contained a clause which explains the difficulty.—It has these words: “they must give an account of all property belonging to government, including the balance in the treasury, the custom house, and other public departments, and of all debts due to government, and of all captures made from the Portuguese, and must pay the amount to the order of the first admiral.” It is without doubt, this article that completely decided the conduct of this scrupulous patriot “who was actuated, in his resistance to the dominion of the Emperor, by no other motive than the purest desire to save his native country,” and who now fears not to say, in the face of the universe “that he feels proud in the conviction of having used his best exertions in a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him.” Yes, it was the 6th article that closed the ears of Carvalho against the cries of the victims he was going to sacrifice, under the culpable pretence of defending a cause already decidedly and irrevocably lost. It is this article which made him unmindful of the imminent dangers and the incalculable misfortunes which threatened the city of Pernambuco, and which Lord Cochrane announced to him, when in the letter which his lordship condescended to write to him, the 23rd. of August, he told him

that these conditions of the capitulation which he offered him in the name of the Emperor, were consonant to the general interest of the empire, and particularly advantageous to the province of Pernambuco "because the total destruction of the harbour and city, and a great diminution of the value of all kinds of property may be by these means prevented, as also the effusion of blood, executions, confiscations, and all the evils attendant on civil war."

Certainly, if any thing were capable of rendering liberty hideous in the eyes of the Americans, it would be the example of these innovators without courage, without genius, without honour, who think, that to proclaim a republic is to establish it, and that it is sufficient to place a population for an instant, under the yoke of a few subaltern tyrants, to compel it to exchange its repose, its institutions, its laws, its liberty, for the ephemeral reign of intriguers, who have nothing to recommend them but a passion for disorder, a thirst for plunder, and the momentary courage inspired by the confident expectation of impunity.

Let not, therefore, M. Carvalho any longer complain if the English nation, in which he has found an asylum, takes the liberty to speak of him in terms less respectful than he himself speaks. The rights of hospitality are no bar to the exercise of the rights of reason; and certainly a nation which idolizes true liberty, but which cannot conceive an existence separated from all political probity, may reasonably be displeased, that the beautiful and rich province of Pernambuco should have been so long the victim of a man always actuated by ambition, or influenced by fear. Is it not sufficient that England has preserved the life of Carvalho? Was

it incumbent upon her after protecting him against the condign punishment that awaited him, to erect for him a triumphal arch, and place a civic crown upon his fugitive head? It would, indeed, seem as if there now existed no circumstances, in which a sense of shame can constrain certain men to be silent, and to use every means to make themselves forgotten. But let us leave to M. Carvalho the enjoyment of peaceful repose, in the bosom of his original insignificance, to which he now returns, and from which, for his own happiness and that of his country, he had better never have emerged; let us leave him to the indulgence of fallacious hopes, and recal our attention to Brasil, whose tranquility, fortunately, he can now no longer disturb.

Although the rebellion of Pernambuco was not eventually very formidable, it must be acknowledged, that it was a great obstacle to the progress of Brazilian regeneration; for, however feeble, however contemptible a momentary insurrection, it is always dangerous, in a new state just emerging into liberty, and which is not yet got familiarized with its political rights. In such circumstances, all the social elements may for a long time be combustible materials, which must be carefully kept at a distance from the revolutionary spark; but when, from the wisdom of government, and the influence of general opinion, every ferment of disorder has evidently subsided, or when misguided men have sincerely returned to a desire for peace, order and moderation; or when law has rendered them incapable of mischief, then, the public mind may dismiss the disquietude with which it was agitated, direct its activity to every branch of internal prosperity, cultivate all the arts of peace, and entrust to

the delegates of the nation, the task of perfecting and of fortifying the combined edifice of its civil liberty, its political independence, and its constitutional monarchy.

The conduct to be observed by the government, and authorities of Brasil is now distinctly marked, and we are convinced that henceforward the public clamours and the partial wants inseparable from a first movement towards liberty, far from guiding and accelerating the constitutional progress of authority, would only obstruct and retard it.

Justly jealous of its liberties, the Brazilian nation should place sentinels to watch over them, but it should no longer suffer them to be exposed to false and continual alarms, by the declamation of political quacks who pretend to govern men according to purely abstract principles. The Brazilian nation should turn from the theoretically to the practicably good, and should regard nothing as practicable but what experience has shewn to be so; now the fatal experience of Pernambuco must have convinced her that exaggerated pretensions terminate only in misfortune, and that the finest maxims, the most solemn declarations, flowing from an illegal source, are only the fatal means resorted to by the friends of anarchy for producing chaos in the place of order.

Society in Brasil is moved onwards in the career of civilization by a gentle but decided impulse, which, if faction oppose not against it useless and vain obstacles, will raise the nation to a level with the most flourishing empires.—The Brazilians have, as far as was practicable, adopted the best government, and that which is most

favourable to liberty, with respect to their geographical situation, their manners, and their population; and it cannot be denied that the Brazilian government has voluntarily constituted itself in such a manner, that no one of its component parts can pass the limits prescribed to its authority. The Brazilian people have had a prophetic view of their future destiny; they have foreseen that they will become a great nation; and they have had the wisdom to profit by the instructions of history which has taught them that mixed governments can alone offer to a great nation liberty without licentiousness, and secure the peaceable and tranquil enjoyment of all the advantages that men have a right to expect from their union in society.

All that now remains to Brasil, is to cement its organic constitution by that spirit of moderation which, says Montesquieu "should be the spirit of the legislator." We prejudge nothing respecting the modifications which experience may introduce into the system by which Brasil is now governed; but we hesitate not to say to its government, what was observed by Solon, that men require not only the best laws possible, but those also that are the most consonant to their manners and civilization. Now, what is it that Brasil requires? Is it a collection of maxims? No; but a truly constitutional administration, vigorous, beloved by the good and feared by the bad. This is to be produced only by the good organization of the legislative and executive powers. If the government should solve this problem, it will have secured, for ever, the welfare of Brasil; but should it, on the contrary, apply a feeble hand, should it attempt to reconcile the true principles of govern-

ment with the prejudices engendered by dangerous reveries, it will be the first to be crushed by the fall of the frail edifice it has constructed, it will destroy Brazilian liberty, and will draw upon itself the curses of posterity.

In the military section of our preceding Number, we considered the complicated struggle of which Peru is the theatre, both as regards the civil war which broke out between the defenders of the Spanish monarchy, and the war of independence gloriously sustained by the republican armies of Peru and Colombia. In following the operations of the different belligerent corps, from the month of March to the beginning of June, we gave an estimate of the respective forces, described their offensive and defensive movements and pointed out the positions which they occupied at the moment of the departure of the last packets. In short, we left the army of Canterac at Sanjo, that of Valdes at Arequipa, that of La Serna at Cusco, and that of Olaneta, abandoning its monarchical standard in Upper Peru, and joining the independents, after having defeated Canolala. On another side, Bolivar having his head quarters at Truxillo, and his vanguard in the direction of Lima, was preparing, in the month of June, to open the campaign against Canterac and Valdes. The port of Callao was vigorously blockaded by the Peruvian squadron, under the command of Admiral Guise, and its surrender was daily expected; and from this aggregate statement we had inferred the probable approach of the catastrophe which has just taken place, when we observed "it is beyond all doubt that Bolivar's army will shortly terminate the war in Peru, either by the occupation of the capital,

or in consequence of a general action which the royalist army can no longer avoid.

Although we did not expect that the defeat of the Spaniards would be the last act of this bloody drama, we will give a slight view of the events which terminated in the happy triumph of the independents, leaving to our readers the opportunity of judging, from the documents which conclude this article, how far the victory of Bolivar may be considered as the accomplishment of the deliverance of Peru. For this purpose, it becomes necessary to revert to the defection of Olaneta, who unquestionably exercised great influence in the turn which events have just taken. This defection has been attributed to a thousand different causes. The following are the most probable: the origin of the division between the royalist generals ought not to be ascribed, in respect to any of them, to their attachment to the constitutional government, but to motives of personal interest and aggrandizement. These, combined with some insults received by Olaneta from Valdes and Canterac, urged him to avenge himself by a sudden alliance with Colonel Lanza, an officer in the patriot army, who maintained a guerrilla war against the royalists in Upper Peru; and, such was the resentment of Olaneta, that blinded by the desire of revenging himself on his rivals, he foresaw not, that by pushing things to this extremity, he would necessarily effect their common ruin. It appears from the last news received by Buenos Ayres, that Valdes and Olaneta were on the eve of a general action, after having already had some partial engagements of little importance.

It remains still to be explained how the union of Olaneta with Colonel Lanza, which took place in April, could, in the course of May, come to the knowledge of Bolivar, who was then at the distance of five hundred leagues, and who seems to have founded upon this event the dispatch in which he announces to the Congress of Bogota, that it would be needless to send him new reinforcements. Although the junction of Olaneta with Colonel Lanza must have taken place in the beginning of April, it was not before the 20th of June that Olaneta published at Potosi, a proclamation by which he made known the grievances which had induced him to separate from Canterac, La Serna and Valdes, and accused them of an intention to keep possession of Peru, in order to offer an asylum to the constitutional Spaniards, who were compelled to quit Spain by the counter-revolution which had been effected.

Whatever may be the fact as to this mysterious affair, on which the catastrophe which is preparing will soon throw light, the secession of Olaneta, at so critical a moment, has evidently paralyzed half the royalist army in Peru.

The events which took place after the proclamation of Olaneta may be briefly stated as follows. At the approach of Valdes, Olaneta suddenly transferred his head quarters from Potosi to Tarija, carrying away with him all the disposable property of which he could secure possession. He adopted a desultory mode of warfare, for which his great local knowledge and his numerous friends in the country afforded him the greatest facilities. This system was peculiarly adapted to harass the army of Valdes. It is even asserted that that general experienced the greatest difficulty in pro-

curing provisions for his troops. Colonel Lanza, acting under the orders of Olaneta, had rendered himself master of the road from Oxciro to Cochabanda; and Marqueque, President of Chareas, having joined Colonel Somocuso, defended the approaches to Tarija.

On another point, Canterac experienced the greatest difficulties, and threatened to exterminate the inhabitants of the Sierra (or mountainous district,) if they granted any asylum or assistance to the partisan leaders. The offers he made to those same leaders, to induce them to betray the cause of independence, were also received with the greatest contempt. Lastly, Canterac, the last hope and the sole support of the royalist party in America, was, at the end of May, in the Sierra of Jaugoz, at the head of seven thousand troops of the line. The plan of Bolivar, at that time, seemed to be to divide his army into three separate bodies; the first under the command of General Sucu, was posted along the Sierra, and on the 17th of June, was at a distance seventeen leagues from the valley of Sanja, in which Canterac had taken up a position. General Miller was marching upon Lima, at the head of two thousand cavalry. Bolivar remained in the rear, at the head of the reserve, to support, in case of urgency, the movements of the two other corps, and seemed to be waiting only for the arrival of a reinforcement from Guayaquil, to commence a general attack upon Canterac. Bolivar had, then under his command fifteen thousand men, and no one doubted that the result of the approaching conflict would be in favour of the independent army.

Bolivar afterwards established his head quarters at Paliviha, seventy miles from Lima, and his vanguard

penetrated to Pasco, distant only a few miles from that city. Canterac, who had marched against Lima, retreated at the approach of Bolivar, and by this movement, left the city where the independent general was not yet desirous of establishing himself, uncovered. Bolivar was, without doubt, waiting till he could, at the same time, take possession of the fortress of Callaõ, which, closely blockaded by the Peruvian squadron, and threatened by an internal insurrection in favour of the independents, could not long hold out. In the mean time, the Spanish general having advanced upon Pasco with all his force, in order to reconnoitre the position of the liberating army, Bolivar marched from Conocancha with the intention of manœuvring upon the rear of the enemy, in order to compel him to a general action. To effect this purpose, he took the road which the Spaniards must have taken to regain Jauja; but the latter, by the rapidity of their march, reached the position in which their advance might have been obstructed, several hours before the independent army.

The Liberator, seeing that his intentions were frustrated by the continual retreat of the enemy, had recourse to one of those bold manœuvres which characterize the skilful general to whom Heaven has entrusted the great work of the deliverance of America.

He presented himself in the plains of Junin, at the head of a body of cavalry considerably inferior to that of the enemy, in order to entice him to battle by the hope of a victory which superiority in numbers and the advantage of the position seemed calculated to secure. The event justified the expectation of Bolivar: his adversary charged him, at the head of his cavalry; and the 5th of August witnessed that brilliant and im-

portant action which gave rise to a series of documents which we will now submit to the inspection of our readers.

Republic of Peru.—Prefecture of the Department of Truxillo.

Truxillo, Aug. 18, 1824.

To the Intendant and General Commandant of the Department of the Isthmus of Panama.

Sir,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency the Gazette Extraordinary of this city, which contains the official statement of the brilliant battle of Junin, which I received last night.

This first success opens the door to the best founded and most flattering expectations, and is a presage of the conclusion of that war which has laid waste the rich country of Peru. The battalion of Zulia, the squadron of Gunias, the dragoon guards, went into quarters the day after the action of Junin.

Although the report of the Secretary-General is exceedingly accurate, permit me to communicate to you several circumstances of lesser note which have come to my knowledge by means of private letters from the army, which render this action still more glorious.

More than one thousand of the enemy's horse, who were advantageously posted, have been completely routed by four hundred of ours.

Canterac, on his side, and the Liberator, on ours, commanded their cavalry in person. Canterac fled before the Liberator, and has felt his irresistible power.

The cavalry was the flower of the Royal army, and was composed of veteran soldiers, the most part of whom were Spaniards.

The contest was terrible, and our cavalry performed prodigies of valour. Canterac exerted his utmost ability and courage, but was compelled to fly in disgrace, with very few

of those brave men who constituted almost the third part of those whom he commanded. The Liberator appeared conspicuous in every place of danger ; but his presence, which availed more than an army, created despair in Canterac and his veteran soldiers.

The people here have received this news with transports of joy, which I am unable to describe. There is no one who has not been enlivened by the pure air of a liberty which he, with good reason, expects to see consolidated by that genius which has alone undertaken to give them their country, peace, and renown.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JOSEPH GABRIEL PEREZ.

To the Colonel Prefect of the Department of Truxillo.

Sir,— Under date of the 7th of this month, the Secretary-General of his Excellency the Liberator writes me the following :—

Office of Secretary-General.

Head-Quarters, Reyes, Aug. 7, 1824.

To the Minister-General of the affairs of Peru.

By the command of his Excellency the Liberator, I have the satisfaction to announce to you, that yesterday, at five in the afternoon, the Spanish army experienced a dreadful humiliation on the plains of Junin, two and a half leagues from this place. The cavalry, on which the enemy principally relied for the subjection of Peru, under the Spanish yoke, has been beaten in such a manner, that it will not again present itself on a field of battle.

His Excellency, informed that the enemy had approached for the purpose of reconnoitring us with the whole of his forces united, began his march with the liberating army from Conocancha, with the determination of bringing them to a decisive action. In the mean time the enemy, who had advanced as far as Pasco, retraced their steps by forced marches, in conse-

quence of the notice they had received of the direction which our army had taken.

His Excellency reckoned upon forcing them to a general engagement, by posting himself in their rear on the road which they must have taken towards Jauja ; but the precipitate haste with which they marched enabled them to reach, and even to pass the point in which we should have attacked them, several hours before our army, (which had a long journey to perform through a rough and uneven track of country,) could come up. Upon this, his Excellency, observing that the enemy continued their retreat without intermission, and considering on the other hand, that the opportunity of relieving this unfortunate land from oppression, and of deciding the fate of the country, had escaped him, determined to advance in person with the cavalry, which was under the command of the intrepid General Nicochea, at a trot, and to post it in the very plain which was occupied by the enemy, hoping, that when they perceived us, they would boldly seize the opportunity which presented itself of gratifying their desires ; or that, viewing the inferiority of our cavalry, they would hazard an action to save the whole of their army. The event answered these expectations ; for, through a blind confidence in their cavalry, the enemy charged our horse in a situation very disadvantageous to us. The shock of these two bodies was tremendous, and at the end of the different conflicts, in which both parties seemed to obtain the advantage, the enemy's cavalry, though superior in number and better mounted than ours, was put into confusion, beaten, and driven back with slaughter to the files of their infantry, which during the action had continued its march towards Jauja, and was many leagues from the field when the battle was decided. Our cavalry has evinced a courage which my pen is unable to express, and which can only be conceived by reverting to ages of chivalry.

The result of this brilliant battle has been two hundred and thirty five dead on the field, amongst whom were ten

chiefs and officers. More than three hundred well equipped horses have been taken.

The loss on our side in killed and wounded is but sixty; among the former, Captain Urbina, of the horse-grenadiers of Colombia, and Lieutenant Cortes, of the first Regiment of the Cavalry of Peru. Among the latter, Brigadier-General Niccochea, with seven wounds, none of which are dangerous; Colonel Carbajal, of the horse-grenadiers of Colombia; the Commandant Sobervi, of the second division of the regiment of Peru; Major Philip Brum and Captain Peraza, both of the Cavalry of Colombia. The first and two last slightly, but the second rather severely: of the rest, few are in danger. The war of Peru would have been concluded yesterday, if the enemy's infantry, had not continued its march without ceasing, at a rapid pace, and if ours had been able to fly, as we must have done to have reached them, because all burned with the desire of destroying their enemies. They have taken warning by experience, and their terror is so great, that since yesterday morning, they have not ceased marching, not even during the night.

To-morrow the army will continue its operations, and I flatter myself that I shall very soon date my communication to you from the valley of Jauja. I congratulate you and the whole of Peru on the success of yesterday, which, as it is the beginning of the campaign, augurs a still more fortunate result. The land of the Incas is wet with the blood of their oppressors, and will willingly offer to the oppressed the beautiful plains in which the precious tree of liberty has arisen; and those who have been conquerors for fourteen years will not leave these humiliated inhabitants without bringing to their recollection the crimes which they have committed in the time of their prosperity. His Excellency wishes that you would circulate the information among all the people and authorities of the country.

THOMAS HERES,
Secretary-General of the Interior.

Filled with joy which my heart could not resist, at contemplating the fortune of my country thus confirmed for ever, I transcribe the foregoing for your Lordship to circulate to the authorities under your control, and that the people of that praise-worthy department may know that victory has begun to crown, in a decisive manner, their incessant sacrifices ; and to the end that it may bring to their recollection the singular circumstance that the same day, the 7th of August, in which the Excellency the Liberator embarked for Peru, he announced the first triumph of the liberating army ; and that this brilliant victory being celebrated in proportion to its importance, may exalt the public gratitude to those brave men who have fought under the command of his Excellency, as well as those noble passions which are accustomed, in similar cases, to transport the hearts of those to whom there is no greater good upon earth than liberty.

I congratulate you, as a son of Colombia, and the whole republic, for Peru is indebted to its arms for ever victorious in this heroic action.

“ JOSEPH SANCHES CARRION. ”

Peruvians ! Already our fortune is secure. Let us give glory to those brave men who have sealed the liberty of Peru with their blood. Let us give glory to the immortal Bolivar, who has caused the palm of victory to spring up from the bottom of the precipice. Tyrants fly with fear, and find no asylum in flight. The soldiers of liberty follow, and who can escape from their valour ? Intrepid Necochia, valiant Carbajal, and you heroes who have signalized yourselves in this memorable engagement, you will ever be remembered with gratitude by your country, and your names will be perpetuated with glory ! O most glorious day of August ! you will ever be gratifying to the whole continent of America, and your memory will ever be celebrated by future generations.

Almost at the same instant in which, several years before, the hero of Colombia had gathered laurels on the plain of Boyacá—almost at the same instant in which the year before he sailed for the first time from Guayaquil for these shores, he has now annihilated the haughty power of Spain, thrown down their detested banners, and secured the liberty of Peru.

Letters from Carthagená of the 27th September leave us no doubt respecting the truth of the accounts which have just been read. The official news of a victory gained by Bolívar has been received in that city with the liveliest enthusiasm. The Liberator was closely pursuing the enemy, at the time the courier who brought these dispatches to the government of Colombia quitted his head quarters.

Later intelligence from Peru announced a second battle between Bolívar and Canterac, who, according to the Baltimore Gazette of the 29th of October, fell in the action as well as the republican General Suere. The independents had gained a complete victory. This cannot, however, be considered as decisive of the fate of Peru, which will remain undetermined until all the Spaniards are exterminated.

We think that this account requires confirmation; but if the death of General Canterac is true, we are convinced that the cause of the Spanish monarchy in America has received its death-blow. If so, we repeat that this brave officer, worthy of serving in a nobler cause, has fallen with honour, and we doubt not that he has carried to the tomb the esteem of his adversaries.

The secret emissaries which the French government has, for some time past, spread over the different

states of South America ; the instructions it has given to them, (of which) we are in possession, and its hostile demonstrations against Hayti ; the arrival of a considerable body of troops in the French colonies ; the attempt of a squadron to enter the Havannah, announce not only the intention of re-conquering St. Domingo, but also that of contributing, by force of arms, to the re-establishment of the ancient order of things in the whole continent of South America. Under this point of view, the republic of Hayti naturally falls within the sphere of our investigations. In our next Number, we will give some important documents which will disclose the views of the French government respecting its ancient colony, and secondarily, respecting Mexico ; but the press of matter now before us obliges us to confine ourselves to laying before our readers a brief statement of the military situation of Hayti, which will, we doubt not, remove all apprehension respecting the fate of this young republic.

The army of the republic consists of sixty thousand effective men, well disciplined, and commanded by experienced officers. Half of this army is always exempted from service during six months, that the soldiers may not lose the habits or inclinations which attach them to agriculture. These men cultivate their own lands, or if they have none, those of their neighbours. By a decree of the 6th of January last, the whole army has been assembled and ordered to remain at its post. The object of this measure is to collect all the forces of the republic, and to keep them in a state of preparation for its defence. The nation, as well as the army, full of confidence in the patrio-

tism, the indefatigable zeal and the talents of its leaders, has nothing to fear from an attack.

The country, abundantly provided with arms and warlike stores of every kind, will be defended by the militia, by the national guards, in short, by all that are able to bear arms; even the women as heretofore, will share with the same enthusiasm the fatigues and dangers of their husbands. We have before us a letter from General Enginas, secretary to the president of the republic of Hayti, containing what follows:

“ Our correspondents in Europe admonish us to adopt measures against a sudden attack ; but we are protected against all surprise ; we have made all the necessary dispositions ; even the most inaccessible points of our lofty mountains have been fortified ; magazines filled with provisions of every description, and manufactories for powder and arms have been established in the interior of the country. Our troops of the line and our national guard amount to a hundred and fifty thousand men, all well armed, well disciplined, and animated with the best spirit : in short, we have nothing to fear from the threat of an invasion.

“ It is not, however, impossible that, with immense resources, and a population superior to our own, our annihilation, strictly speaking, might be eventually accomplished, by an enormous sacrifice of men and money; but never will a yoke be imposed upon the present generation of Hayti; never will our national independence be destroyed; it is a thing which appears to me physically and morally impossible. Should we be attacked, the world will see a fine example of devotedness to liberty and to patriotism,” &c. &c. &c.

The journals of North America announce that the North Carolina, a ship of the line of seventy-four guns, and several small vessels, are to form a squadron under the command of Commodore Rogers. Its destination is unknown; but it is conjectured that it will act as a squadron of observation, and that it will defend, if necessary, the principles avowed in the message of the president of the United States. If the intention of the European powers, in respect to the independent governments of the Southern part of America, render useless this measure of precaution, it will at least have produced the effect of placing our marine upon a proper footing.

The Colombian goletta, the General Santander, commanded by Captain Northamp, met, on the coast of Cuba, four vessels which appeared to be under the escort of the French brig the Genie, as the captain of this ship declared that they were French. Captain Northamp, having however, ascertained that the suspected vessels were Spanish, and captured three of them without any attempt on the part of the French ship to succour them: the night alone saved the fourth.

If the friends of America were unacquainted with the Spanish government, they might perhaps witness with some uneasiness, the ridiculous airs of intimidation which its folly induces it so assume, to persuade Europe that it is still in its power to tyrannize over the people who have for ever escaped from its power.

Happily the fate of the rotten ships at Cadiz is well known, as well as that of all the other pretended armaments. No one is ignorant of the practice of begging every where for men, ships and maravedis; and certainly, it is not at a time when the cabinet of Ma-

drud is distinguished among the cabinets of Europe only by the enormity of its crimes, its profound stupidity, and its irretrievable misery, that its struggles are to be dreaded: they are those of death! Information, however, has been received from Cadiz, that a frigate, two corvettes, and three transports, sailed from that port, on the 30th October, for Ferrol and Corogue, in order to convey troops from the North of Spain, to South America. Troops to America....when the French troops are quitting the Peninsula, and Ferdinand VII., stained with blood, and agitated by fear and remorse, is preparing to leave his capital, escorted only by priests and executioners!!! As to the pretended squadron, it is, without doubt, sent to gain intelligence of the Asia and Achilles, which are known to be idling in the Pacific Ocean, concerning which no information has as yet reached America*.

* Our correspondent at Arequipa, in Peru, writes to us under date of the 15th July last, that, at that time, nothing was known of these ships, which had not been seen on any part of the American coasts.



FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

In devoting a section of our Magazine to the investigation of the commercial and manufacturing resources of South America, we proposed to describe the nature and extent of each of these innumerable resources, in succession. We promised our readers that we would endeavour to discriminate, as far as possible, between those elements of prosperity which, belonging to the nature of the soil, are unalterable and will increase with time, from those which, depending on accidental causes, may vary with circumstances.

We shall confine ourselves, in this article, to those which fall under the former of these heads in the two most important nations of South America, Brasil and Mexico, which, by their population, their extent, and the riches of every kind which nature has lavished upon them, claim, in a commercial point of view, pre-eminence over all the other states of the continent.

The two notices which will be found subjoined on the mineral conformation of the two countries, will enable our readers to form an estimate of the colossal prosperity to which both appear to be destined.

MEXICO.

Selections from the works of the Baron de Humboldt, relating to the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, and Mines of Mexico, with Notes, by John Taylor, Esq. Treasurer of the Geological Society.

Mexico was almost unknown to Europe at the time when Baron de Humboldt published the first result of his observations. With him for our guide, we now travel through this interesting country, enlightened by truth and by science. No writer of our times appears to us to unite, in a higher, degree the qualities requisite in a man who undertakes the noble and important task of observing and describing every part of the social existence of a people. It is delightful to find no trace of selfish calculations mingled with those sentiments of enlarged public interest which dictated the works of M. de Humboldt. We see in him, the philosopher, the man of profound research, actuated by the warmest love of truth and of justice. We see him, with true moral courage and singleness of purpose, breaking through all conventional littlenesses, and by the generosity of his heart, no less than by the extent of his genius, securing universal esteem and admiration.

It is, however, impossible not to perceive that the brilliant protection afforded to M. de Humboldt's enterprise by Charles VI. might, even unknown to himself, cause him to write under the impulse of gratitude; the only personal one, perhaps, to which his lofty and generous mind was not inaccessible. It is also well known that the works of M. de Humboldt were sub-

mitted, before publication, to the cabinet of Madrid ; and as the able translator of these works*, and one of their warmest admirers, has well observed, " We never talk of our friends so candidly before their face as behind their back. Even Johnson, with all his bluntness, would have hesitated to read his *Tour to the Hebrides* to his Scotch landlords." To these sources we may trace the extreme indulgence which characterizes all the moral and political part of the Baron's works, and the almost uninterrupted praises which he seems to have thought it his duty to bestow on whatever individuals or institutions came under his notice.

It is, moreover, to be observed, that since the publication of the work, considerable changes have taken place in the manners and opinions of the inhabitants : this, joined to the considerations we have already mentioned, has for some time created a necessity for a work containing, in one volume, all the most important facts of natural history, statistics, and geography, which are to be found so clearly and learnedly given in the voluminous works of M. de Humboldt. The volume before us is calculated to be of immense utility to all persons whose interests call them to study the present state of Mexico, and to discover the germs of its future resources. It perfectly fulfils the desired end, and we are convinced that the commercial men and capitalists of England cannot, under existing circumstances, desire better information on the subjects most interesting to them, or safer guidance in their transactions, than that which is offered them by Mr. John Taylor. No

* Mr. John Black, translator of the *Political Essay on the kingdom of New Spain*.

one is more perfectly qualified than this gentleman to form an accurate and profound judgment on the subjects on which he treats. Enjoying, for many years, the unbounded confidence of the persons who are most deeply interested in the knowledge of the mineral treasures of Mexico, intimately acquainted with all the works which have been published on this subject, and honoured with the good opinion of M. de Humboldt, with whom he has held a correspondence undertaken for the special purpose of throwing light on those points which require fresh elucidation, Mr. Taylor presents an invaluable guide to persons—

“Who may now for the first time be enquiring into Mexican affairs, whether for the purpose of engaging their money in any of the enterprises for working the mines of that country, or with the more interesting view of seeking in it a place of residence, where their skill and experience may become useful in the great plans which are meditated, and may at the same time be made subservient to their own emolument and advancement.”

Mr. Taylor takes care always to fortify himself with the most incontestible authorities, which he quotes with scrupulous care—

“That those who are inclined to attach weight to any statement which I may lay before them, may know the respectability of my authority, for many things which wear so flattering an aspect as to excite a suspicion, that they have been brought forward to serve a particular purpose.”

The compiler has subjoined to the text of M. de Humboldt, some highly interesting notes, explanatory of the changes which have taken place in Mexico, and more particularly in the mode of working the mines

since the publication of the works from which he has formed his selection. He has also prefixed an excellent introduction, in which he has related facts which his own experience and observation have enabled him to verify, and offered some reflections of the highest interest under existing circumstances. He compares—

“The lodes or veins in Mexico with those which had come under my observation in other parts of the world. ‘I was struck, with their size or width, with the great productiveness of particular parts, with the similarity of many circumstances, with those which miners every where think favourable symptoms, and above all, with the greatness of the profits under a system of management of the worst kind; I observed that little or no machinery was employed, and that what there was seemed to be of the rudest description; that no attempt was made to abridge labour, or to save expense, and that under the old government, obstacles to improvement of the most formidable kind existed. Attempts were indeed sometimes made, but when it is considered that all these were likely to interfere with the profit of viceroys, or provincial governors, who, under the court of Spain, enjoyed the privilege of making the people pay at the highest rate for articles of the greatest necessity, it is not surprising that these attempts were stifled and rendered abortive. With the richest mines in the world, with a splendid college for instructing miners, and with a code of laws which pretended to encourage them, Mexico made no advances in the science of working its mineral treasures: while England, with only metals of inferior value, without any public institution for instruction of this sort, and even without books upon the subject, has, within a few years, raised the art of mining to a perfection heretofore unknown, and has carried it on in spite of difficulties not to be met with elsewhere?’”

If we are struck with astonishment at seeing this

· vast country, the depositary of such boundless treasures, apply for assistance in bringing them to light, to a remote island, comparatively poor in natural resources, Mr. Taylor easily explains this phenomenon.

“ A failure in produce, similar to that experienced in the mines of Cornwall sixty or eighty years ago, before the application of the steam-engine, had already given a considerable check to the prosperity of the mines ; and in the year 1810, at the commencement of the civil commotions in Mexico, they experienced a fatal blow by the interruption to industry produced by internal war. The proprietors no longer received their usual revenues, and the mines becoming full of water, the whole country was impoverished ; and at the return of better times, the necessary capital for renewing the works did not exist. This is the cause of the application to other countries on the part of the Mexican proprietor, and the reason of his willingness to alienate a part of his interest in a mine for the sake of that assistance which he bargains for in return.”

After having pointed out the numerous obstacles which the old government opposed to the working of the mines of Mexico, Mr. Taylor proceeds to a consideration of the present state of things—

“ At the present moment the difficulties I have alluded to, arising from the policy of the former Spanish Government, are removed, and it seems probable, that the New Government, whatever form it may assume, will follow the direction of its own interests and of the wishes of the people, and will give encouragement to foreign aid in working the mines. The property in them, like that of mines in England, is private ; the contracts are therefore made with individuals, many of whom have considerable influence ; the State only interferes in taking a duty on the metals when exported, which has lately been lowered, with respect to silver, from 29½ per cent. to 6 per cent.

“ Various commercial establishments from this country have been made of late in Mexico, and English gentlemen are resident there; a channel of communication has thus been opened, through which negotiations with England have been carried on for grants or shares in some of the principal mines, and abundant capital has been raised to work them with effect.

“ The first Company seems to have originated with a proposal from Don Lucas Alaman, a leading minister in the Mexican Government. It was first promulgated in Paris, under the title of the “ Franco-Mexican Company;” but not succeeding there, it was transferred hither, and after some time, and some alteration in the original plan, is now established under the name of the United Mexican Association, with a capital of 240,000*l.* in six hundred shares of 40*l.* each. The object of this Company is said to be principally to purchase ores, and smelt and refine them; it also, according to the prospectus, meditates the working mines, but it does not appear to have yet actually engaged any.

“ I should think the establishment of a Company to purchase ores of the smaller mines, and to refine them upon a well-conducted system, a promising undertaking; but as I am unacquainted with the details of the plan, I of course refrain from giving any further opinion.

“ The Company next established is called the “ Anglo-Mexican Association,” which having actually contracted for some of the most extensive and productive concerns, has raised a proportionate capital by a subscription of one million in ten thousand shares of 100*l.* each. This Company has done me the honour to consult me on its arrangements; it is governed by twelve Directors of great respectability, and the preparations are in considerable forwardness. The mines undertaken by this association are principally in the Real of Guanaxuato, concerning which a great deal of information will be found in the following pages. Its situation, north-

west of the city of Mexico, will be seen by a reference to the map.

“The great mine of Valenciana is in this district; of this M. de Humboldt speaks frequently, and ample details as to its produce and other circumstances will be laid before the reader. It is situated upon a lode, or vein, which has been extensively worked, and upon which the Company has other mines, called Tepeyac, Rayas, Cata and Serena; it has also one which seems to be in another lode, called La Luz, at no great distance: they are negotiating for other mines, which will complete an undertaking of great magnitude, and adequate to warrant a large and effective establishment.....

“The Anglo-Mexican Association has also contracted for a mine called Purissima, in the Real de Catorce before mentioned, which will be found in the northern part of the map... This district has been very rich, and considerable expectations are, probably with justice, entertained with respect to the future profit.

“The third Company is of a more private nature, and is formed of individuals who possess the largest interest in the mines of this country. As I direct the administration of their affairs at home, they have wished me to manage this undertaking abroad, and to organize the establishment which will proceed to Mexico to carry on the works

. . . This last Company is known by the title of “The Adventurers in the Mines of Real del Monte,” which is a district about sixty miles north of the city of Mexico. They have agreed with the agent of the Count Regla for his mines on the Biscaina vein, and others connected with it. They have also taken the mine of Moran from the proprietor, Thomas Murphy Esq., who was long resident in Mexico.

“The Company’s agents will proceed directly to the mines, and engines and proper machinery will be immediately prepared to follow them. . . .

“The number of mines in Mexico is very great; there are

many very important ones besides those engaged by the Companies now formed, and others not even noticed in the following pages, which have been exceedingly rich, and may become so again. There is no natural rivalry in the business of mining in a district where there is room for the exertions of all; the produce is easily disposed of without injurious competition, and the effect of increased production upon prices is so gradual, that all will participate in its advantages before the consequent depression will be sensibly felt.

“ No foolish jealousies, therefore, ought to prevail; English miners will carry out the same friendly feelings as exist in their own country, where mutual assistance is cordially afforded, and where the improvement designed by one is freely exhibited to all. Common danger is said to be a bond of union; and the usual risks and uncertainties of mining are sufficient in themselves to induce co-operation in order to overcome them. ”

From these details, and many others for which we cannot find room in this Number, the author passes on to those general reflections which appear to us to be founded on a profound observation of men and things. He represents the Mexicans as perfectly well disposed towards the English, and he insists on the immense advantages which are likely to result to the two nations, both now and hereafter, from the continuance of that intimate connection which has just been established between them. “ It is impossible ” says Mr. Taylor,

“ To calculate to what extent the exchange of the varied and precious productions of the Mexican soil and climate, for those furnished by English industry and capital, may be hereafter carried. ”

He afterwards adds, after predicting some obstacles of detail, and pointing out the means of overcoming them,

“ If no unforeseen circumstances arise to disturb the arrangements which are made for the conduct of the undertakings, and if I am to look to the mining risk simply, I cannot come to any other opinion, then that this is very small, or rather I should say that the expectation of profit is a large one. ”

We shall return in a future Number to a review of these interesting selections; but we cannot conclude this article without presenting to our readers two extracts, taken from the body of the work. The first presents the order in which the mines of Mexico may be classed, according to the quantity of metal they have respectively produced; the second gives a summary view of the information which may be gathered from the abridgment of Mr. Taylor:—

“ The 1,544,000lbs. of silver which are annually sent to Europe and Asia, from the ports of Vera Cruz and Acapulco, are the produce of a very small number of mines. The three districts, which we have frequently had occasion to name, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Catorce, supply more than the half of that sum. The vein of Guanajuato alone yields more than a fourth part of the whole silver of Mexico, and a sixth part of the produce of all America.

“ The following is the order in which the richest mines of New Spain follow one another, arranging them according to the quantity of money actually drawn from them.

“ Guanajuato, in the Intendancy of the same name.

Catorce, in the Intendancy of San Luis Potosi.

Zacatecas, in the Intendancy of the same name.

Real del Monte, in the Intendancy of Mexico.

Bolaños, in the Intendancy of Guadalajara.

Guarísamey, in the Intendancy of Durango.

Sombrerete, in the Intendancy of Zacatecas.

Tasco, in the Intendancy of Mexico.

Batopilas, in the Intendancy of Durango.

Zimapan, in the Intendancy of Mexico.

Fresnillo, in the Intendancy of Zacatecas.

Ramos, in the Intendancy of San Luis Potosi.

Parral, in the Intendancy of Durango."

Physical Aspect.—In the centre of the country a long chain of mountains runs first from the south-east to the north-west, and afterwards beyond the parallel of 30° from south to north; vast table-lands stretch out on the ridge of these mountains, gradually declining towards the temperate zone; under the torrid zone their absolute height is from 7,550 to 7,870 feet. The ascent of the Cordilleras is covered with thick forests, while the central table-land is almost always arid and destitute of vegetation. Most elevated summits, many of which rise beyond the limits of perpetual snow, are crowned with oak and pine. In the equinoctial region the different climates rise as it were by strata one above another: between the 15° and 22° of latitude, the mean temperature of the shore, which is humid and unhealthy for individuals born in cold countries, is from 77° to 80° Fahr.; and that of the central table-land, which is celebrated on account of the great salubrity of the air, is from 60° to 62° . There is a want of rain in the interior, and the most populous part of the country is destitute of navigable rivers.

A Territorial extent.—One million sixty-two thousand square miles, of which two thirds are under the temperate zone; the other third, lying under the torrid zone, from the great elevation of its table-lands, enjoys generally a temperature similar to that which is experienced in spring in Spain and the south. of Italy.

Population.—Five millions eight hundred and forty thousand inhabitants; whereof two millions and a half are copper-coloured Indians, one million Mexican Spaniards, seventy

thousand European Spaniards ; scarcely any Negro slaves. The population is concentrated on the central table-land. The clergy alone consists of fourteen thousand individuals. The population of the capital 185,000 souls.

"Agriculture.—The banana, the manioc, maize, cerealia, and potatoes, are the foundation of the nutriment of the people. The cerealia cultivated under the torrid zone, wherever the surface rises from 3,900 to 4,300 feet of elevation, produce twenty-four for one. The maguey (*agave*) may be considered as the Indian vine. The cultivation of sugar-cane has lately made a rapid progress; and Vera Cruz annually exports Mexican sugar to the value of 282,000*l*. The finest cotton is produced on the western coast. The cultivation of cocoa and indigo is equally neglected. The vanilla of the forests of Quilate produces annually 900 *millares*. Tobacco is carefully cultivated in the districts of Orizaba and Cordova; wax abounds in Yucatan; the cochineal harvest of Oaxaca amounts to 880,000*lbs.* per annum. Horned cattle have greatly multiplied in the *provincias internas* and on the eastern coast between Panuco and Huasaculaco. The tithes of the clergy, the value of which points out the increase of territorial produce, have increased two-fifths within the last ten years.

"Mines.—Annual produce in gold, 4,289*lbs.* troy; in silver, 1,439,832*lbs.*; in all to the value of 5,000,000*l*. sterling, or nearly the half of the precious metals annually extracted from the mines of North and South America. The mint of Mexico has furnished, from 1690 to 1803, more than 293,150,000*l*.; and from the discovery of New Spain to the commencement of the nineteenth century, probably 878,800,000*l*., or nearly two fifths of the entire quantity of gold and silver which in that interval of time has flowed from the New Continent into the Old. Three districts of mines, Guanajuato alone, richer than the mineral depository of Potosi, furnishes at an average 286,000*lbs.* troy of silver annually, or a sixth of all the silver

which America annually throws into circulation. The single mine of Valenciana, in which the expense of working exceeds 180,000*l.* per annum, has for the last forty years never ceased to yield annually to the proprietors a net profit of more than 1,200,000*l.*; this profit has sometimes amounted to 240,000*l.*; and it amounted to 800,000*l.* in the space of a few months for the family of Fageaga of Sombreste. The produce of the mines of Mexico has tripled in fifty-two years, and sextupled in a hundred years, and it will admit of greater increase as the country shall become more populous, and industry and information be more diffused. The working of the mines, far from being hostile to agriculture, has favoured cultivation in the most uninhabited regions. The wealth of the Mexican mines consists more in the abundance than in the intrinsic riches of the silver minerals, which amount at an average only to .0002 (or from 60 to 80 ounces per ton.) The quantity of minerals extracted by means of mercury is to that produced by smelting in the proportion of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. The process of amalgamation used is long, and occasions a great waste of mercury: the consumption for all New Spain amounts to 1,540,000 lbs. per annum. It is to be presumed that the Mexican Cordilleras will one day supply the mercury, iron, copper and lead necessary for internal consumption.

“ *Manufactures.*—Value of the annual produce of manufacturing industry, from 1,500,000*l.* to 1,700,000*l.* The manufacture of hides, cloth, and calicoes, has been on the increase since the conclusion of the last century.

“ *Commerce.*—Importation of foreign produce and goods 4,400,000*l.*; exportation in agricultural produce and manufactures of New Spain, 1,200,000*l.* The mines produce in gold and silver 5,000,000*l.* of which about 1,750,000*l.* are exported on account of the king: consequently, if we deduct from the remaining 3,250,000*l.* 3,084,000*l.* to pay the excess of imports over the exports, we find the specie of Mexico hardly increases 216,000*l.*

Revenue.—The gross amount of the revenue is 4,400,000*l.*; whereof 1,192,000*l.* from the produce of the gold and silver mines, 816,000*l.* from the tobacco farm, 650,000*l.* from the alcavalas, 282,000*l.* from the Indian capitation tax, and 173,000*l.* from the duty on pulque or fermented juice of the agave.

Military defence.—It consumes the fourth of the total revenue. The Mexican army is 30,000 strong, whereof scarcely a third are regular troops, and more than two thirds militia. The petty warfare continually carried on with the wandering Indians in the *provincias internas*, and the maintenance of the *presidios* or military posts, require a very considerable expense. The state of the eastern coast and the configuration of the surface of the country facilitate its defense against any invasion attempted by a maritime power."

An account of the mines of Brasil in our next.

MEXICO.—MINISTRY OF FINANCE.—The Supreme Executive Power has entered into a contract with Messrs. Robert Manning and William S. Marshall, agents of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., of London, for a second loan on the account and for the benefit of this Republic, upon the terms stated in the following document, which is here inserted for the information of the public:—

The Supreme Executive Power of the United Mexican States, which at present consists of the Excellent Senores Don Nicholas Bravo, Don Vincente Guerrero, and Don Miguel Dominguez, to all those who may see these presents be it known:—That being authorized as we were, by the decree of the Supreme Constituent Congress of the 27th of August, 1823, to contract a loan of 20 millions of dollars for the service of this Republic; and it being advantageous to the better and more prompt re-establishment of the important revenue of tobacco, to the most convenient and useful adjustment of the new financial system of the federation, and to the improvement of the national credit, by the payment of its most pre-

ferable creditors, that a second loan should be negotiated, limited to 3,200,000*l.* sterling, or 16,000,000 of dollars, and under the precise condition of employing the fourth part thereof in the redemption of the obligations contracted for in London by Don Francisco de Borga Migonni, agent of this Republic; we have determined to grant, as we hereby do grant, under special and sufficient powers, all the authority which may be necessary for the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co. of London, in consideration of the important services which they have performed for this Government, to carry into effect, in virtue of the aforesaid authority, and of the present general obligation, the before-mentioned loan in that city, on account and for the benefit of those states, under the following bases and conditions :—

1. Special obligations or bons shall be issued for the above sum, which shall be drawn up and printed in the usual form, and with the usual precautions, according to the amounts and circumstances hereafter specified :—

With the initial C, 16,000 special bons of	
150 <i>l.</i> which will make	£2,400,000
With the initial D, 8000 of 100 <i>l.</i>	800,000
	<hr/>
	£3,200,000

These obligations shall be signed by the Minister Plenipotentiary of this Republic, or whoever may officiate for him as Minister to the British Government, and by the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., and shall be payable to the bearer, with the interest of 6 per cent., which shall commence from the beginning of the quarter in which they are put into circulation.

2. The said 2,400,000 special obligations must be signed and ready by the 7th of February of next year, 1825, at the latest; and the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., shall proceed to sell the same at the most advantageous price, in one, two, or more periods, preceded with suitable

advertisements in the newspapers, and acting in concert with the Minister Plenipotentiary of this Republic, or his representative for the time being, and with the Consul-General of this Republic; but the absence or failure of one or other of these Ministers shall not impede this operation, nor prevent it from having precisely the same effect stipulated for, and for which the contracting house is bound by the contract.

3. Fifty thousand pounds sterling of the produce of this loan are each month destined, reckoning from the day on which the first sale was made, to redeem the obligations of the first loan, until the fourth part thereof, amounting to 800,000*l.* sterling, be paid off.

4. There shall be appropriated to the redemption of this loan the annual sum of 32,000*l.* sterling; and moreover, the surpluses resulting from the total amount of the interests, which must constantly fall in after the payment of the corresponding dividends; by the reduction of this gradual and successive extinction, and purchasing with the sum total to which the same may amount, special *vales* or *bons* at the current price, on account of this Republic, and under the management of the said contracting house. This operation shall commence at the end of six months from the date of the first sale, and shall be continued every half-year until the redemption be completed. Should the price of this paper in the market at any time exceed its nominal value, independently of the interest due in the current quarter, this Government shall not on that account be bound to pay more than what the *bons* represent; and in this case, the contracting house shall proceed in concert with the agents of this Republic in London, to cast lots for the *bons* in circulation, and shall publish in the London Gazette the numbers which are to be paid off by the appropriated fund at the end of the half-year or half-years, in which this operation of redemption at par is to be repeated, paying in effect the *bons* on their presentation with the interest for the current quarter at the time of the notification, but not

the future quarters, which cease from the time of the redemption. The bonds, which shall be redeemed in the presence of a Notary Public, of Messrs. Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., and of the Minister and Consul-General of this Republic residing in London, shall be cancelled and deposited in the Bank of England, and their respective numbers shall be published as they are paid off and cancelled during every half-year; at the termination of which, the whole and the present general obligation shall be delivered over to the disposal of this Government; and finally, if at the end of thirty years, reckoning from the date of the first sale, there shall still remain any bonds in existence, they shall be redeemed and paid off, in order that the whole transaction may be concluded.

5. To carry into due and full effect the redemption, as well as the payment of the interests in the manner intended, the Supreme Executive Power, in the exercise of the authority given by the Sovereign Constituent Congress, specially appropriates and mortgages for the present, the third part of the produce of all the maritime customs of the Mexican Federation, which amount to more than 4,000,000 of dollars annually, or whatever may be sufficient to cover the respective dividends of the interests and redemptions, without prejudice to the general mortgage of the other revenues of the nation, and of the particular measures which the present General Congress has under consideration for covering the interests and extinguishing the public debt by establishing a great national bank. The interest of the six first quarters, and the necessary fund for the three first payments of the half-yearly redemptions, shall be taken in London from the produce of the loan itself, in order to their punctual discharge, and the amount of the third part of the Maritime Customs shall be appropriated to the seventh dividend; the fourth and the subsequent payments shall begin to have effect from the 1st of May of the following year, 1826, the necessary contingent being deposited, and punctually made up in the Treasury of Vera Cruz, previous to the

four months of anticipation, in which remittance is constantly to be made, on account and at the charge of the Government, in order that the same may arrive in due time previous to the period of the payment of the said seventh dividend; and in future every three months for the interests, and every six for the redemptions, until their absolute completion.

The above payments shall be made in the time of war in the same manner as in the time of peace, without the least distinction with respect to the proprietors or holders of shares, whether they belong to a friendly or hostile nation; and in the case of any proprietor of the said actions dying intestate, the bons belonging to him, which shall pass to his representatives or heirs in the order established by the laws of the country of which he may be a subject, shall be regularly paid; and, moreover, the special bons of this loan shall be exempt from every kind of sequestration, either at the suit of the state or individuals, according to the general practice observed in this respect, and also from the seal duty, in the same manner as is every document of the Government in this Republic.

And finally, the present general obligation and mortgage, with the said sovereign decree which is drawn up, authorized in form, and the special authority which the Supreme Executive Power confers under this date on the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., shall be deposited in the Bank of England, accompanied by a faithful translation, made in presence of the Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul-General of this Republic, of the said Messrs. Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., and of a Notary Public of the city of London, until the final cancelling of this loan; for which purpose this document shall be delivered in duplicate to Messrs. Robert Manning and William S. Marshall, agents of the contracting house. In testimony whereof, we expedite these presents, signed with our hands, and sealed with the seals of the Re-

public, and countersigned by the Secretary of State and Despatch for Finance.

Given in the National Palace of Mexico, on the 25th of August, 1824, the fourth year of Independence, and the third of Liberty.

(Signed) **NICOLAS BRAVO.**

VICENTE GUERRERO.

MIGUEL DOMINGUEZ.

JOSE IGNACIO ESTEVA, Sec. for Finance.

Article 1st, of the additional contract concluded with the agents of the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., of London.

The Commissioners of the house of B. A. Goldschmidt and Co., resident in this city, having circulated notices, which have given rise to some doubts as to the acceptance of bills drawn by this Government, (for the first loan contracted with that house in London, by the Consul-General of this Republic, Don Francisco de Borga Migonni) without the intervention of the said Commissioners, that not being necessary or requisite by any of the articles of the contract, and the payment and acceptance of the bills are therefore strictly obligatory. Nevertheless, to prevent the consequences of the impression which might thus be produced in these states, and of any unexpected accident in London, the agents of the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson and Co., of that city, engaged to endorse the bill which the Government may think fit to draw, payable to its order, and upon Goldschmidt and Co., without requiring any commission from the Government for this transaction.—*From the Mexican Government Gazette.*

The government securities and Bank stock at Buenos Ayres had undergone very extensive fluctuations, but continued to maintain very nearly the high value to which they had risen on intelligence that the negociation for a loan in England

had been almost brought to a conclusion. The extreme point to which these securities had risen was 95 for the 6 per cent. stock, and 2,700 for the Bank actions of 1,000 dollars each; the first subsequently fell to 87, and the last to 1,950; but at the period of the packet's sailing had recovered about 3 per cent. of that depression. The great question which has been so long pending in this part of South America, as to the place where the general Congress was to assemble, and which was to form, therefore, the centre of the federation, has been decided, according to the private letters, in favour of Buenos Ayres. The representatives of the province of Buenos Ayres, in order to encourage the navigation by steam-vessels of the the Rio de la Plata, had passed a decree exempting that class of vessels from port duties for 10 years, from the 1st of January, 1825.

COLOMBIA.—A plan has been formed for the creation of a sinking fund; and a portion of the produce of tobacco, which is a monopoly, as under Old Spain, in the hands of the government, has been set apart for a shipment to England, in order to defray the interest of the loan contracted here.

BRASIL.—*Statement of the progressive Increase of the Public Revenue of the Empire of the Brasil, from 1808 to 1809, both inclusive.*

Years.	Revenue.			Years.	Revenue.		
	£.	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1808	546,284	10	6	1815	1,386,822	0	3
1809	829,096	3	6	1816	1,679,456	9	4
1810	1,485,814	3	10	1817	2,021,534	12	0
1811	1,046,887	6	3	1818	2,043,885	17	6
1812	919,297	9	4	1819	2,451,504	9	4
1813	1,383,806	18	1	1820	2,748,142	1	9
1814	1,234,050	18	10				

The New Tariff of the United States.

ARTICLES.	LATE RATE.	PRESENT RATE
Manuf. of Wool....	25 per cent. ad val. . .	30 per cent. ad val. to 30th June, 1825; 33½ per cent. after that time.
Manuf. of Cotton....	25 per cent. ad. val. minimum—25 cts. square yard.....	25 per cent. ad val. on Cotton, and 20 per cent. on Silk.
Wool unmanuf.,	15 per cent. ad. val.	20 per cent. ad val. to 1st June, 1825; 25 per cent. to 1st June 1826; afterwards a duty of 30 per cent. ad val.
Leghorn Hats.....	30 per cent ad val. . .	50 per cent. ad val.
Japanned and plated Wares.....	25 and 20 per cent. do	25 do. do.
Bolting Cloths.....	15 per cent. ad val. ...	15 do. do.
Hair Cloth & Seating	15 do. do. ...	30 do. do.
Marble unmanuf.....	15 do. do.	30 do. do.
Paper Hangings.....	30 do. do ...	40 do. do.
Coach Laces.....	25 do. do ...	35 do. do.
Lead.....	1 cent per lb.....	2 cents per lb.
Leaden Shot.....		3½ do. do.
Red and White Lead .	3 cents per lb.....	4 do. do.
Carpeting	25 per cent. ad val. . .	25 and 20 cents per square yard.
Oil Cloths	15 do. do ...	30 per cent. ad val.
Hemp.....	150 do. do ..	35 dollars per ton.
Cordage, tarred.....	13 cents per lb.....	4 cents per lb.
— untarred	4 do do	5 do. do.
Flax	15 per cent. ad val. . .	
Cotton Bagging	20 do. do....	3¼ cts. per sq. yard
Iron in bars and bolts	75 cents per cwt.....	90 cents per cwt.
Round Iron and Braziers' Rods.....	250 and 150 cents per cwt.	3 cents per lb
Spikes	3 cents per lb....	4 do. do.
Nails	4 do. do....	5 do. do.
Anvils	20 per cent. ad val ..	2 do. do.
Iron Cables.....	20 do. do ...	3 do. do.
Mill Cranks	20 do. do ...	4 do. do.
Mill Saws	20 do. do ...	One Dollar each

A duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all articles not specified in the act and which hitherto paid $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only.

Ten per cent. additional duty on all articles imported in a vessel not belonging to the United States, without the foreigners give peculiar privileges to the United States' vessels in the foreign countries.

A drawback of duties on re-exportation: imported silk may be dyed in the States, and allowed drawback.

The duties to be levied after the 1st of June, 1824.

Foreign Stocks raised in England.

Colombian	1822.....	£2,000,000
Ditto	1824.....	4,750,000
Chili	1822.....	1,000,000
Buenos Ayres	1824.....	1,000,000
Peruvian	1822 and 1824.....	1,200,000
Brasilian	1824.....	3,200,000
Spanish	1821.....	1,500,000
Ditto	1823.....	1,500,000
Portuguese	1823.....	1,500,000
Mexican	1824.....	3,200,000
Danish	1822.....	3,000,000
Austrian	1823.....	2,500,000
Prussian	1818.....	5,000,000
Ditto	1822.....	3,500,000
Russian.....	1822.....	3,500,000
Neapolitan	1821 and 1822.....	6,165,000
Ditto.....	1824.....	2,500,000
Greek	1824.....	800,000

Total..... £47,815,000

Independent of very large sums invested in the French Funds.

The great American Canal.

It will be recollected that the eastern section was not open until the middle of October last; after which the navi-

gation was soon interrupted by the giving way of some part of the work. We have no doubt that when the canal is completed, the toll will be not less than six hundred thousand dollars the first year after, and there will be always an increase in proportion to the population of the country.

The following are the monthly receipts from April to July 31, 1824:—

April	Dollars 4,313 59
May	54,103 26
June	43,261 20
July	28,994 44

130,672 49

Same period last year.....42,036 13

Balance in favour of this year, Dol. . . . 88,636 36

COLOMBIA.—In the Government journal of July 18, we find a decree which had passed the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives on the 7th of the same month, and had received the assent of the Executive on the 10th, fixing the rate of duty on the exportation of all articles the growth or production of the Republic. These duties are all now brought into one account, and are to be paid uniformly over all the provinces of the state. The following are a few of the articles enumerated in this decree, with the duties payable on exportation:—Untanned hides, pay 10 per cent.; cacao, 15 per cent.; dye-wood, 5 per cent.; mules, 20 dollars per head; horses, 16 dollars per head, and other cattle 12 per head; coined gold, 3 per cent. The exportation of gold-dust is prohibited: coined silver and platina are likewise prohibited from being exported, for what reason we know not. All articles not enumerated above pay a duty on exportation of 4 per cent.

The provisions of this decree would appear, to say the least of them, very impolitic. Colombia ought to encourage, rather than check, the use of her produce among foreigners; and if she must raise a revenue on trade and commerce, should obtain it rather in some other way than by shackling the free export of the articles furnished by her soil and industry. Foreigners will not submit to be taxed for the benefit of the Colombians. If the duties imposed, therefore, on the exportation of Colombian commodities be higher than those paid in other quarters, foreigners will desert the Colombian markets for those of other states, and the Government will thus lose not only their own duties, but destroy the trade of its subjects. We find in this paper another decree prohibiting the importation of salt into any port of the republic. It is a long time before Governments learn that they best consult the public interest by letting things alone.

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the future quarters, which cease from the time of the redemption. The bonds, which shall be redeemed in the presence of a Notary Public, of Messrs. Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., and of the Minister and Consul-General of this Republic residing in London, shall be cancelled and deposited in the Bank of England, and their respective numbers shall be published as they are paid off and cancelled during every half-year; at the termination of which, the whole and the present general obligation shall be delivered over to the disposal of this Government; and finally, if at the end of thirty years, reckoning from the date of the first sale, there shall still remain any bonds in existence, they shall be redeemed and paid off, in order that the whole transaction may be concluded.

5. To carry into due and full effect the redemption, as well as the payment of the interests in the manner intended, the Supreme Executive Power, in the exercise of the authority given by the Sovereign Constituent Congress, specially appropriates and mortgages for the present, the third part of the produce of all the maritime customs of the Mexican Federation, which amount to more than 4,000,000 of dollars annually, or whatever may be sufficient to cover the respective dividends of the interests and redemptions, without prejudice to the general mortgage of the other revenues of the nation, and of the particular measures which the present General Congress has under consideration for covering the interests and extinguishing the public debt by establishing a great national book. The interest of the six first quarters, and the necessary fund for the three first payments of the half-yearly redemptions, shall be taken in London from the produce of the loan itself, in order to their punctual discharge, and the amount of the third part of the Maritime Customs shall be appropriated to the seventh dividend; the fourth and the subsequent payments shall begin to have effect from the 1st of May of the following year, 1826, the necessary contingent being deposited, and punctually made up in the Treasury of Vera Cruz, previous to the

four months of anticipation, in which remittance is constantly to be made, on account and at the charge of the Government, in order that the same may arrive in due time previous to the period of the payment of the said seventh dividend; and in future every three months for the interests, and every six for the redemptions, until their absolute completion.

The above payments shall be made in the time of war in the same manner as in the time of peace, without the least distinction with respect to the proprietors or holders of shares, whether they belong to a friendly or hostile nation; and in the case of any proprietor of the said actions dying intestate, the bonds belonging to him, which shall pass to his representatives or heirs in the order established by the laws of the country of which he may be a subject, shall be regularly paid; and, moreover, the special bonds of this loan shall be exempt from every kind of sequestration, either at the suit of the state or individuals, according to the general practice observed in this respect, and also from the seal duty, in the same manner as is every document of the Government in this Republic.

And finally, the present general obligation and mortgage, with the said sovereign decree which is drawn up, authorized in form, and the special authority which the Supreme Executive Power confers under this date on the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., shall be deposited in the Bank of England, accompanied by a faithful translation, made in presence of the Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul-General of this Republic, of the said Messrs. Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., and of a Notary Public of the city of London, until the final cancelling of this loan; for which purpose this document shall be delivered in duplicate to Messrs. Robert Manning and William S. Marshall, agents of the contracting house. In testimony whereof, we expedite these presents, signed with our hands, and sealed with the seals of the Re-

public, and countersigned by the Secretary of State and Despatch for Finance.

Given in the National Palace of Mexico, on the 25th of August, 1824, the fourth year of Independence, and the third of Liberty.

(Signed) **NICOLAS BRAVO.**

VICENTE GUERRERO.

MIGUEL DOMINGUEZ.

JOSE IGNACIO ESTEVA, Sec. for Finance.

Article 1st, of the additional contract concluded with the agents of the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., of London.

The Commissioners of the house of B. A. Goldschmidt and Co., resident in this city, having circulated notices, which have given rise to some doubts as to the acceptance of bills drawn by this Government, (for the first loan contracted with that house in London, by the Consul-General of this Republic, Don Francisco de Borga Migonni) without the intervention of the said Commissioners, that not being necessary or requisite by any of the articles of the contract, and the payment and acceptance of the bills are therefore strictly obligatory. Nevertheless, to prevent the consequences of the impression which might thus be produced in these states, and of any unexpected accident in London, the agents of the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson and Co., of that city, engaged to endorse the bill which the Government may think fit to draw, payable to its order, and upon Goldschmidt and Co., without requiring any commission from the Government for this transaction.—*From the Mexican Government Gazette.*

The government securities and Bank stock at Buenos Ayres had undergone very extensive fluctuations, but continued to maintain very nearly the high value to which they had risen on intelligence that the negotiation for a loan in England

had been almost brought to a conclusion. The extreme point to which these securities had risen was 95 for the 6 per cent. stock, and 2,700 for the Bank actions of 1,000 dollars each; the first subsequently fell to 87, and the last to 1,950; but at the period of the packet's sailing had recovered about 3 per cent. of that depression. The great question which has been so long pending in this part of South America, as to the place where the general Congress was to assemble, and which was to form, therefore, the centre of the federation, has been decided, according to the private letters, in favour of Buenos Ayres. The representatives of the province of Buenos Ayres, in order to encourage the navigation by steam-vessels of the the Rio de la Plata, had passed a decree exempting that class of vessels from port duties for 10 years, from the 1st of January, 1825.

COLOMBIA.—A plan has been formed for the creation of a sinking fund; and a portion of the produce of tobacco, which is a monopoly, as under Old Spain, in the hands of the government, has been set apart for a shipment to England, in order to defray the interest of the loan contracted here.

BRASIL.—*Statement of the progressive Increase of the Public Revenue of the Empire of the Brasils, from 1808 to 1809, both inclusive.*

Years.	Revenue.			Years.	Revenue.		
	£.	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1808	546,284	10	6	1815	1,386,822	0	3
1809	829,096	3	6	1816	1,679,456	9	4
1810	1,485,814	3	10	1817	2,021,534	12	0
1811	1,046,387	6	3	1818	2,043,885	17	6
1812	919,297	9	4	1819	2,451,504	9	4
1813	1,383,806	18	1	1820	2,748,142	1	9
1814	1,234,050	18	10				

The New Tariff of the United States.

ARTICLES.	LATE RATE.	PRESENT RATE
Manuf. of Wool....	25 per cent. ad val...	30 per cent. ad val. to 30th June, 1825; 33½ per cent. after that time.
Manuf. of Cotton....	25 per cent. ad. val. minimum—25 cts. square yard.....	25 per cent. ad val. on Cotton, and 20 per cent. on Silk.
Wool unmanuf.....	15 per cent. ad. val.	20 per cent. ad val. to 1st June, 1825; 25 per cent. to 1st June 1826; afterwards a duty of 30 per cent. ad val.
Leghorn Hats.....	30 per cent ad val. . .	50 per cent. ad val.
Japanned and plated Wares	25 and 20 per cent. do	25 do. do.
Bolting Cloths.....	15 per cent. ad val. ...	15 do. do.
Hair Cloth & Seating	15 do. do. ...	30 do. do.
Marble unmanuf.....	15 do. do.	30 do. do.
Paper Hangings.....	30 do. do ...	40 do. do.
Coach Laces.....	25 do. do ...	35 do. do.
Lead.....	1 cent per lb.....	2 cents per lb.
Leaden Shot.....		3½ do. do.
Red and White Lead .	3 cents per lb.....	4 do. do.
Carpeting	25 per cent. ad val...	25 and 20 cents per square yard,
Oil Cloths	15 do. do ...	30 per cent. ad val.
Hemp.....	150 do. do ..	35 dollars per ton.
Cordage, tarred.....	13 cents per lb.....	4 cents per lb.
— untarred	4 do do	5 do. do.
Flax	15 per cent. ad val...	
Cotton Bagging	20 do. do....	3½ cts. per sq. yard
Iron in bars and bolts	75 cents per cwt.....	90 cents per cwt.
Round Iron and Braziers' Rods.....	250 and 150 cents per cwt.	3 cents per lb
Spikes	3 cents per lb....	4 do. do.
Nails	4 do. do....	5 do. do.
Anvils	20 per cent. ad val ..	2 do. do.
Iron Cables.....	20 do. do ...	3 do. do.
Mill Cranks	20 do. do ...	4 do. do.
Mill Saws	20 do. do ...	One Dollar each

A duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all articles not specified in the act and which hitherto paid $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only.

Ten per cent. additional duty on all articles imported in a vessel not belonging to the United States, without the foreigners give peculiar privileges to the United States' vessels in the foreign countries.

A drawback of duties on re-exportation: imported silk may be dyed in the States, and allowed drawback.

The duties to be levied after the 1st of June, 1824.

Foreign Stocks raised in England.

Colombian	1822.....	£2,000,000
Ditto	1824.....	4,750,000
Chili	1822.....	1,000,000
Buenos Ayres	1824.....	1,000,000
Peruvian	1822 and 1824.....	1,200,000
Brasilian	1824.....	3,200,000
Spanish	1821.....	1,500,000
Ditto	1823.....	1,500,000
Portuguese	1823.....	1,500,000
Mexican	1824.....	3,200,000
Danish	1822.....	3,000,000
Austrian	1823.....	2,500,000
Prussian	1818.....	5,000,000
Ditto	1822.....	3,500,000
Russian.....	1822.....	3,500,000
Neapolitan	1821 and 1822.....	6,165,000
Ditto.....	1824.....	2,500,000
Greek	1824.....	800,000

Total..... £47,815,000

Independent of very large sums invested in the French Funds.

The great American Canal.

It will be recollected that the eastern section was not open until the middle of October last; after which the navi-

gation was soon interrupted by the giving way of some part of the work. We have no doubt that when the canal is completed, the toll will be not less than six hundred thousand dollars the first year after, and there will be always an increase in proportion to the population of the country.

The following are the monthly receipts from April to July 31, 1824:—

April	Dollars 4,818 59
May	54,103 26
June	43,261 20
July	28,994 44
	<hr/>
	130,672 49
Same period last year	42,036 13
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Balance in favour of this year, Dol. . . .	88,636 36
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COLOMBIA.—In the Government journal of July 18, we find a decree which had passed the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives on the 7th of the same month, and had received the assent of the Executive on the 10th, fixing the rate of duty on the exportation of all articles the growth or production of the Republic. These duties are all now brought into one account, and are to be paid uniformly over all the provinces of the state. The following are a few of the articles enumerated in this decree, with the duties payable on exportation:—Untanned hides, pay 10 per cent.; cacao, 15 per cent.; dye-wood, 5 per cent.; mules, 20 dollars per head; horses, 16 dollars per head, and other cattle 12 per head; coined gold, 3 per cent. The exportation of gold-dust is prohibited: coined silver and platina are likewise prohibited from being exported, for what reason we know not. All articles not enumerated above pay a duty on exportation of 4 per cent.

The provisions of this decree would appear, to say the least of them, very impolitic. Colombia ought to encourage, rather than check, the use of her produce among foreigners; and if she must raise a revenue on trade and commerce, should obtain it rather in some other way than by shackling the free export of the articles furnished by her soil and industry. Foreigners will not submit to be taxed for the benefit of the Colombians. If the duties imposed, therefore, on the exportation of Colombian commodities be higher than those paid in other quarters, foreigners will desert the Colombian markets for those of other states, and the Government will thus lose not only their own duties, but destroy the trade of its subjects. We find in this paper another decree prohibiting the importation of salt into any port of the republic. It is a long time before Governments learn that they best consult the public interest by letting things alone.

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Iturbide made a sort of triumphal entry into the city of Mexico, on the 27th of September. The same day the junta of government was installed. Although the members of this junta were selected and appointed by him, he quickly perceived that they would not be the uniformly docile instruments of his will; he wished to dissolve it, but he dared not—it would have been laying aside too soon the character of Liberator.

The treaty of Cordova was disapproved by the Cortes of Madrid in their sitting of the 13th. They declared null and illegal every act or stipulation which implied the recognition of the independence of Mexico. Iturbide declared that the Cortes, having annulled the treaty of Cordova, the Mexican nation recovered the full and entire enjoyment of the right of electing as Emperor the man whom it should deem most worthy to be elevated to supreme power. At this moment, he was the object of popular favour, and the whole strength of the country was at his disposal.

The Mexican Congress was assembled: Iturbide, who had constituted himself President of the Regency, soon complained of the inactivity of the Congress—its crime in his eyes was its want of alacrity in choosing the head of the government. The Congress declared that the functions of member of the regency and of commander of the army were incompatible; thus imposing upon Iturbide the necessity of choosing. From this dilemma he was freed by the event of the 18th of May, 1822. At 10 o'clock at night the air resounded with cries of, "Long live Augustin I." and the city was by common and sudden consent illuminated. Iturbide neglected none of the little airs of modesty and coyness, usually exhibited in such cases, in order

to divert from easy minds all suspicion of concert and intrigue.

The Congress met on the following day, but the incessant acclamations of the people rendered all deliberation impossible. Iturbide was invited to attend the sitting. The populace took the horses from his carriage and drew it to the Hall of Congress. As soon as he entered the chamber, the question of his nomination was discussed. There were ninety-four deputies present; two retired without voting, fifteen had the courage to refuse their votes, only seventy-seven of the hundred and eighty-two members pronounced in favour of Iturbide; he failed therefore of obtaining a majority by fifteen votes.

The elective minority addressed a proclamation to the provinces, in favour of the object of their choice, whom they designated as *Iturbide the Great*. The new Emperor also issued one, in which he said, "Let us wait for a period of greater tranquillity, before we irrevocably fix our destinies and the form of our government." The preceding evening he had been urgent to proceed to the consideration of these topics—In the morning, it was better to wait.

On the 22nd of July, a hundred and nine deputies declared that the crown of Mexico was hereditary in the family of Augustin L. The civil list was fixed at a million and a half of piastres, and twenty square leagues of land in the internal provinces was granted as imperial domain.

As might be expected, struggles for power soon arose between the Emperor and the Congress. When he entered Mexico, he commanded the whole armed

force. The tribunals had no other privileges, than those which he had left or granted to them. His will was the sole law of Mexico. The deliberations of Congress became troublesome to him; and on the 26th of August, 1822, he ordered the arrest of a great number of persons, among whom were several deputies.

The Congress demanded the restitution of its members, and information as to the causes of their arrest. Iturbide refused. Some time was past in the contest, which was at length terminated, by the Emperor sending a message to the Congress, announcing its entire and final dissolution. Thus abruptly was Congress annihilated on the 30th of October, after an existence of eight months.

Augustin seems to have felt great satisfaction at this act, which in Mexico procured for him anew the title of Liberator. In the provinces, it produced a very different sensation.

Brigadier-general Santa-Ana, who had fallen under the displeasure of Iturbide, being re-called, instead of returning to the capital, went to Vera Cruz, and there proclaimed the Republic. General Etchevuri and Brigadier Cortagan, who were sent to stifle the rebellion, joined the republican party; their example was followed by the rest of the army. Augustin was left with no other adherents than a small number of troops, with which he proceeded from Mexico to engage his enemies. But, whether from fear or prudence, he changed his intention, convoked the Congress, abdicated the throne, and asked permission to leave Mexico. This permission was granted to him by the very men, whom six months before, he had so tyrannically

driven from office. They were generous enough to add to this indulgence an annual pension of 25,000 piastres and the title of Excellency.

On the 11th of May, 1822, after a reign of a year, Augustin Iturbide embarked from Mexico for Italy; on the 11th of May, 1824, by a singular coincidence, he embarked from England for Mexico. The result of this daring enterprize is known to all Europe. It is well known, that on the 15th of July, having landed on the coast of Mexico, Iturbide was taken to Padilla, where he was shot on the 19th of the same month; but the real object of his return to America is a mystery, over which his sudden death has thrown a veil, which will probably long remain impenetrable. The Holy Alliance occurred to the minds of some, who imagined that the attempt of Iturbide, combined with the ulterior plans of some European cabinets, was destined to prepare a monarchical counter-revolution throughout the Continent of South America.

It appears to us that this conjecture is destitute of the slightest probability, and we incline much more to the opinion of those, who think that the enterprize of the Ex-Emperor was the result of mere personal ambition. This passion, to which he was constantly a prey, was probably stimulated by the intestine divisions which prevailed in some parts of Mexico; and strengthened, perhaps, by the suggestions of some imprudent friends, drew him into the abyss in which he perished.

It would, indeed, have been a strange means of preparing the minds of men for the re-establishment of the Spanish power, and of reconciling them to the policy of the Holy Alliance, to issue a proclamation, de-

nouncing to the hatred of the Americans the designs of Europe upon their independence, and exciting the most determined opposition to the order of things which, by some violent and paradoxical politicians, he was supposed to favour. "I should think it an affront to you," says Iturbide, in his proclamation to the Mexicans, "to use any arguments to convince you that Spain is under the protection of the Holy Alliance, and that she never has consented, and never will consent, to lose the most precious gem of her crown; permit me, however, to say, that it is impossible for you to know the numerous intrigues which are employed, not only in remote countries, but in our own, for the purpose of reducing us once more under her yoke. But I, who from my residence in Europe, was in a situation to hear much, and to guess at more, had the most perfect anticipation of the dangers that menace you. Could I remain an indifferent spectator of your ruin?"

Nothing can surely be imagined more calculated to awaken fear and hatred of the Spanish power. It is not easy to see how Iturbide could turn round and place himself in the ranks of a party, against which he had just been exciting distrust and resistance.

Could he have expected to reap any reward from hypocrisy so atrocious? Must he not rather have anticipated that the nation would instantly sacrifice him to its just indignation? How could he hope to escape from the desperate situation in which his duplicity had placed him?

History, however, speaks a language more convincing than all our reasonings. She tells us that, in the annals of the world, there is not to be found a monarch,

more especially an usurper, who sincerely assisted in placing on another head a crown which had been snatched from his own. We may rest assured that Augustin Iturbide did not return to Mexico to re-establish the authority of Ferdinand VII.

We may be also permitted to doubt the sincerity of the deposed monarch, when he says, "I do not return as an Emperor, but as a soldier and a Mexican. My only object is to assist by my counsels and by my sword in preserving the independence of Mexico, or not to survive the commencement of that new slavery which *powerful states*, aided by some base traitors to their country and by some ungrateful Spaniards, are preparing for us. My sole desire is to heal the differences which exist among you, and which would suffice alone to cause your destruction; to re-establish that inestimable good, internal peace, to support, without restraint or condition, the government sanctioned by the general choice, and to co-operate with you in labouring for the prosperity of Mexico." Such professions, coming from the author of the violent acts of the 26th of August, and the 30th of October, 1822,* must be viewed with considerable distrust. Nevertheless, if we consider that Iturbide was in fact only a Mexican and a soldier, when he first made his way to the attainment of despotic power, if we recollect the manner in which he represented his government as the one sanctioned by the general choice, we may conclude

* It will be remembered that on the 30th of October, 1822, Iturbide being opposed by the Congress, dissolved it without formality, after it had existed eight months. He had already ordered the arrest of several members on the 26th of August.

that his proclamation was in fact the actual expression of his thoughts. However this may be, an impartial examination of all the acts which marked the political life of the man whom fortune placed upon the throne of the Incas, leads, as it appears to us, to the following conclusion: Iturbide had rendered too many services to Mexico to deserve such a fate at her hands, and had inflicted on her too many injuries to merit confidence or reward. At all events, he presented himself unarmed and defenceless. Mexico ought to have treated him with the generosity of superior strength.

The following account of the last moments of the unhappy adventurer, from a paper of the 11th of August, may be read with some interest:—

“Although from the moment in which Iturbide was arrested by General Garza, he must have foreseen that his enterprize was frustrated, he maintained great calmness, and probably did not foresee the fate that awaited him. On the 19th, at three in the afternoon, General Garza, from whose conduct duty had never excluded humanity, notified to him by an officer, that he must prepare to die that very day. A profound stupor was then succeeded by the most earnest entreaties, that the execution of the sentence might be delayed till the Supreme Government received an account of his situation. General Garza signified to him, that such a delay was not in his power, and that he was under the necessity of fulfilling the order which had been imposed upon him. Then Iturbide prepared for death, confessing himself to Gutiares, one of the Deputies of that state. At six in the evening he was led to the public square, in the midst of which were drawn up sixty or seventy soldiers, who had come along with General Garza. The groups of people who surrounded them observed the scene

in the greatest silence. Senor Iturbide asked, a moment before his execution, for a glass of water, and as soon as he had drank it, falling on his knees before the troops, he recommended to them obedience to their chiefs and the fulfilment of their military duties: and besought them to consider his punishment, if ignominious, as extending only to himself, and terminated by his death, without reaching his family; manifesting a desire that his death might be useful to the nation. When he had concluded this address, the officer gave the troops the terrible signal, and Iturbide instantly fell to the earth a lifeless corpse, which was carried soon after to a building near the parish church, followed by the troops. On the following day he was interred with all the decency which the smallness of the population would allow.



NEGRO SLAVERY IN SOUTH AMERICA.

The state of slavery in which part of the population of South America still remains sunk, has unavoidably rendered more complicated the question of its independence. It would, however, be an error to suppose this obstacle insurmountable. Slavery, as it now exists in some parts of the world, is, without doubt, a serious evil, a heavy burthen bequeathed to the present generation by those which have preceded; but it would be wrong to consider this fact alone as an irrefragable argument against the emancipation of the South American States.

We will not assert on the authority of history, that a free and independent state can subsist, whilst a part of its inhabitants are doomed to slavery. Heaven forbid that the deceptive illusions of antiquity should induce us to consider as free, under whatever name they were known, states which contained Helots, and which sanctioned the slavery of a part of their population, as one of the organical principles of their social existence. Liberty, such as we imagine it, such as it appeared to Montesquieu, such as it is represented by Christianity, and such as it is acknowledged by humanity, was no more the portion of the Greek and Roman states, than it has since been that of Poland, or than it is, at the present day, that of Russia; but the fact of the existence of slavery, among these different nations, proves that it opposes no absolute ob-

stacle to national independence, and that it may, even for a considerable period, co-exist with civil liberty; freedom is indeed more likely to rest on a solid basis, where a state of things unquestionably iniquitous, but which has unhappily endured for many ages, is gradually destroyed, than where it is suddenly uprooted. Far be it from us to justify or to palliate a state of things repugnant to humanity, reason and religion: our only intention is to prove that it is not a serious obstacle to the cause of South American independence. But this question is decided by the example of the United States of North America. There, as we shall subsequently shew, slavery exists under a hideous form, is very unlike that which it exhibits in South America. The United States have nevertheless triumphed over formidable obstacles, though of a very different nature from those which have been, and still are, opposed to the triumph of South American independence.

It cannot, however, be denied that, generally speaking, slavery is an evil which must be put an end to, a wound which must eventually be healed. But here arises a question of great delicacy and of the highest importance. What are the preparatory means for accomplishing the definitive abolition of slavery in South America? Ought this abolition to be sudden or gradual? * Although Chili and Mexico have decided for an immediate and complete emancipation, we hesitate not to express our belief that a slow, gradual and

* See under the head Documents, the decree of the government of Mexico, which abolishes slavery throughout the territories of the federation.

continued enfranchisement is more consonant to prudence, more favourable to the well-being of its objects, and perhaps more likely to be crowned with complete success. The subject of the abolition of slavery has been discussed by the British Parliament; and the important debates to which this great question gave rise during the last session are known to the whole world. It enters not into the plan of this essay to take any decided part in the bitter and hostile discussion between the planters and the abolitionists. The English Ministry have taken a middle course; and repelling, with equal force, the idea of a sudden abolition and that of the perpetuation of a state of slavery, not less repugnant to sound policy, than to the progress of civilization, they have decided upon measures which, however wise, have given satisfaction to no one. The abolitionists reproach them with having done too little; the planters with having done too much. This discrepancy of opinion is, to the Ministry, a tribute of praise.

But it must be observed that there is a difference between the free states of South America and the European colonies. The condition of slaves in the latter is so dissimilar from what it is found to be on the continent, that we shall be excused if we take for our model neither the measures adopted by the British Ministry, nor those recommended by the English abolitionists; the principle, however, being the same in both cases, it is obvious that some of the measures which we shall point out, are equally applicable to South America. But neither shall we propose to ourselves the example of the United States. It is universally admitted that, in reference to the matter in

question, this nation is not to be considered as a model of imitation. The laws relating to slaves are generally, in that part of the American continent extremely severe. Georgia, the two Carolinas and Virginia, the states which contain the greatest number of slaves, are remarkable for the rigour of their legislative enactments, in respect to these unhappy beings. The Spanish laws, on the contrary, are of a much milder character. The code which relates to slaves breathes a humane and paternal spirit. The English philanthropists are so impressed with this conviction that one of the things which they are most solicitous to recommend, is the adoption of some of the clauses of this code.

Every one knows what is understood in the United States, by the kidnapping of slaves. It is simply to seize every free black or man of colour, and to reduce him to slavery, if he has not about him the documents which authenticate his state of freedom. These unhappy men are afterwards sent into remote provinces, where, in consequence of the distance from their native home, the voice of complaint cannot be heard, and where it would be impossible for their friends or relatives to claim them.

It is also known that in some of the Southern United States, it is forbidden under severe penalties, to enfranchise a slave ; and when, for the sake of emancipating a slave, the master chooses to subject himself to these penalties, the unhappy object of his generosity is compelled to quit the state, and to seek refuge in the northern states ; all the southern states invariably refuse to receive him.

But it is not in the laws alone that inhumanity

towards the slaves is remarkable: what is still more deplorable is, that the same cruelty evinces itself in the usages of society, which bear the impression of the most revolting characters that ignorance and prejudice can stamp upon them.

Whilst in South America the white and the black man live amicably, are often sheltered under the same roof, and eat at the same table, the North American would think himself dishonoured by such familiarity. There, whatever is used by the black cannot be used by the white: food, apparel, houses, every thing is marked by this insulting distinction. It seems as if the colour imparted to every thing connected with it a pestilential quality. This is carried to the most ridiculous excess. There are at Philadelphia, so distinguished for its liberality of sentiment, barber's shops exclusively for the blacks, and kept by blacks; but, if one of these unfortunate men should present himself in the shop of a white and ask to be shaved, a smile of contempt and irony is the only answer he receives from the insolent barber, and yet, the black is, perhaps, a distinguished officer, or a rich and respectable merchant. "*Risum teneatis, amici!*"

Happily, South America is exempt from these stupid and ridiculous prejudices. There, the poor black meets with humanity and affection—There, so light are the chains of slavery, that they are scarcely felt—There, it would consequently be unjust to apply the language of indignation, and the thunder of eloquence which a Clarkson or a Wilberforce has so repeatedly directed against the white oppressors of the blacks.

In South America, the whites are not oppressors,

the blacks are not victims. They, however, constitute different classes in the social order ; since the rights they exercise, and the obligations imposed upon them are regulated by a distinct and separate standard.

We have established as a principle, that slavery being in itself an evil, its cessation is an object of desirable attainment. Now, different means may lead to this end. Among these means, we will first point out those which are already established in these countries, and we will superadd such as reason or experience may suggest.

It is evident to every one who has reflected on this important subject, that, of all the means of gradual emancipation, that which claims the preference is, to make liberty the ultimate reward of the industry and labour of the slaves. The Spanish law is admirably adapted to the accomplishment of this end. It consists in granting, independently of the Sunday, a day in the week to every slave. On that day, the master exacts no work from his slave. It is the property of the latter, who devotes it to his own advantage.

He lays up what he gains by the produce of his labour ; and when, by the accumulation of these little gains, he has realized a small sum, he employs it in purchasing from his master, a half day or a whole day in the week. Thus, the time which he can devote to his own advantage being doubled, the produce is also doubled. This soon enables him to purchase another day, till by his labour he accomplishes his complete emancipation. It also frequently happens that the slave thus liberated, continues to work for his former master, as a voluntary workman, receiving regular wages.

This simple and easy means of emancipation has naturally attracted the attention of the English colonies; but the planters of these islands obstinately oppose its introduction, well convinced that it is one of the most active and certain measures that can be applied. As it is, however, already adopted in all the colonies connected with the present essay, we shall not dwell longer on the subject.—We will only add that the government would do well to direct its special attention to the punctual enforcement of the law, in order that no slave may be illegally deprived of its benefit.

We now pass to another plan, not less effectual. We refer to that, connected with the government of Colombia. The Colombian Congress has promulgated on this subject, an important law, to which we solicit the attention of the other states of the South American union. The law has fixed a rate for the redemption of a slave: this rate differs in proportion to the age and sex of the slave. Public funds have been allowed by the government for the annual redemption of a certain number of slaves throughout the whole extent of the republic. To the support of these funds is appropriated a part of the annual product of the customs: to this part are added the voluntary contributions of private individuals. This fund accomplishes annually the emancipation of a certain number of slaves, and this number depends on the more or less flourishing state of the fund. In the general affranchisements, the preference is given to those slaves who are distinguished for their love of order and their industry.

This fund has been in a state of operation since 1819, and the number of slaves which it has affran-

chised is immense : a smaller one cannot too soon be established in the other states of the union.

A third means has been pointed out by the very circumstances in which America is placed ; and which, more or less, has been resorted to by each of the states of the union. This is, to emancipate every slave who takes up arms for the defence of the state ; and, in fact, mere common sense dictates how dangerous it would be to confide the defence of the country and of its liberties, to hands loaded with chains. The hand which has wielded the sword would disdain to wear fetters ; and the courageous soldier who has not feared to look death in the face, would not humble himself before the uplifted rod of the planter.

There remains a fourth method of conferring freedom viz, immediate emancipation, either by will or in any other manner. This means, depending entirely upon the will of the master, has nothing to do with legislative measures ; we shall, therefore, not dwell upon it. We will only observe that the hero to whom Colombia owes its political existence, and, perhaps, the whole of America its independence, began his glorious career by an act indicative of one of those great minds destined to preside over the fates of nations. It is well known that when Simon Bolivar took up the sword for American independence, his first act was the manumission of several hundred slaves, who were his property ; thus setting a noble example of disinterestedness and of a strict conformity with the principles of which he was about to become the champion.

Having now detailed the different means of eman-

cipation susceptible of adoption, or which have been already practically applied, we shall endeavour to communicate the ideas suggested to us by this interesting subject. We shall express our sentiments with frankness, conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, and previously declaring that we have not the slightest intention of saying any thing offensive to the proprietors of slaves, or of deteriorating this species of property.

We will begin with the avowal of a principle universally acknowledged, and sanctioned both by human and divine law; it is this, that all property legally acquired ought to be sacred. We are therefore far from intending the slightest injury to the proprietor of slaves. This principle, above all, must be respected; and to this every plan of gradual emancipation must be subordinate; for it is the bond which unites all society. This principle being acknowledged, let us consider the men to be emancipated, and whether, previously to entrusting them with the blessing of liberty, it be not imperatively requisite to attend to wants of superior urgency.

It cannot be denied that the slave is totally ignorant both of civil and religious duties: before making him a free man then, begin with making him a man; above all, make him a Christian.

Communicate to him the blessings of education. In every village establish a school for the children of the slaves. Let the law compel masters to send their slaves to this school, that the rising generation may not inherit the ignorance and brutishness of their parents.—These steps are indispensable, and should precede

every other measure; for it is not sufficient to change the physical condition of these men, they must be remade, and cast, as it were, in the mould of civilization, that they may become citizens whenever they cease to be slaves. Thus, whatever the means of enfranchisement, it would be desirable that the definitive emancipation should not be sanctioned till after an examination, by which the state, before it conferred upon a man the rights of citizenship, should be assured that he is possessed of the necessary qualifications; that, while it seeks to add to the number of its free members it should not let loose upon society a wild and ferocious beast. From this precautionary measure, and from these previous examinations, would result excellent effects. The slaves would endeavour to render themselves worthy of the liberty to which they aspired.

The marriage tie is the sacred foundation of society. This tie, if not respected, loses its force. Society which approves it, religion which sanctions it, ought to protect it in the slave as well as the free man. It is known that, generally speaking, the most unrestrained concubinage prevails among the slaves. The evil is immense, and should be remedied without delay. The law should extend its protection to the marriages of the slaves, and should suffer no master to violate, with impunity, the sanctuary of domestic life. But the slave, in contracting the engagement of marriage, should feel its importance, and be informed of the duties which this new condition imposes upon him. Hence the necessity of admitting into it those only whom previous education has sufficiently prepared for the important social obligations of this respectable state. The wife of the slave, being raised to

a sense of her own dignity, would be respected by her husband and her children, and would impress on her daughters a character of modesty and decorum. An immense approximation would thus be made towards civilization ; and among the slaves would be seen fathers and mothers of families, obedient and respectful children, affectionate brothers and sisters.

It is necessary that the laws should protect the inheritance of slaves, that the father may, with implicit confidence, transmit his small property, so dearly purchased at the expense of his industry and toil. With this, he might perhaps purchase his liberty ; but he denies himself this blessing, in order that he may accumulate the means of securing, after his death, the freedom of his children. Let the last will of an expiring father be respected, and disappoint not the hopes of paternal tenderness.

But another condition remains to be fulfilled, in order successfully to promote the civilization of the slaves, and to prepare them for liberty. They must be taught self-respect ; and to effect this, they must be released from the humiliating and degrading treatment to which custom and the law have hitherto subjected them. The whip must no longer drive them to work, nor its cracking resound in their ears as the threat of punishment ever ready to overtake them. The law must restrain the brutality and cruelty of such as may be found sufficiently base to abuse their authority. Laws more accurately defined than those which at present exist, should be immediately enacted. Hitherto, the whip has been the punishment generally inflicted upon the slaves, without any distinction of

sex. . . Who can be insensible to the shameful impropriety of a punishment of this kind, as it regards women? Nature, as well as decency, revolts at this abominable custom. How can women be taught to respect themselves, or to exact respect from others, if they are subjected to a punishment by which decency and modesty are violated? . . . The law must, therefore, peremptorily forbid the infliction of this punishment upon women.

Humanity requires that a cruel master should be amenable to justice. The white man who has killed, wounded, or unjustly punished a slave, must not be suffered to escape the penalties he has so fully incurred. But, how can this be prevented, if the testimony of a slave is so disregarded? if he is not admitted to a court of justice? It is of great importance that this anomaly in the law, in whatever country it exists, should no longer be permitted.

There is lastly, another abuse, which calls for immediate redress. It exists wherever the law has provided no remedy against it. It consists in this—slaves are considered as transferable property. A master who is thus invested with the right of selling his slaves must have it in his power to burst asunder the most sacred and endearing ties. The father may be torn from his children, the wife from her husband—It is evident that in this respect, the law is extremely defective. The fate of the slave is indeed deplorable, if it is in the power of his proprietor thus to tear him from all that binds him to life, and to place an eternal barrier between him and the objects of his tenderest sympathy and affection. The law, therefore, should provide against this case, and make it a condition that

the father should be sold with his children, and the wife with her husband.

We will now present a comprehensive recapitulation of the points on which we have insisted in the course of this essay, and of the measures the adoption of which we consider of urgent necessity, and applicable to the states of the South American Union.

1. To enforce the execution of the Spanish law, in virtue of which the slave may purchase his liberty, in successive portions.

2. To establish, in imitation of the Colombian government, a fund specifically consecrated to the emancipation of slaves.

3. To declare free every slave who shall have served a given time in the national armies.

4. To encourage manumission.

5. To establish certain qualifications to be possessed in order to pass from the state of slavery to the state of liberty. Among these conditions are included a knowledge of the duties of a Christian, of the obligations of marriage, &c.

6. To establish schools of elementary instruction for the slaves. In these schools, they will likewise receive religious instruction.

7. To forbid all illicit connexions among slaves; to encourage marriage, placing it under the protection of the church and of the laws, civil and religious.

8. To protect the slaves in the possession or transmission of property, either by purchase or by any other legal means.

9. To forbid the use of the whip as a stimulus to labour, and restrain the infliction of arbitrary punishment.

10. To forbid the punishment of the whip, in respect to women, under any circumstances.

12. To give validity to the testimony of slaves before courts of justice, under conditions to be defined by the law. For this purpose, we would propose to take the number of slaves in each habitation; to form registers; to record in the first register the slaves of both sexes above fifteen years of age and possessing the necessary qualifications for affranchisement. The testimony of these should be valid in any court. The evidence of those under fifteen years, unless they were found to possess the above-mentioned important moral qualifications, should be inadmissible.— The transfer of the name of a slave from the register of the unqualified, to the register of the qualified, should be effected at the *commune*, with certain formalities to be required by the law. Every slave should have a right to demand to be examined for this purpose. The two registers should be kept by the municipal officers.

It would also be proper to appoint, in each village, a certain number of the best informed slaves above twenty years of age, to be called *notables*; from this body should be selected the candidates for the public enfranchisements.

12. Lastly, to prevent, by law, in the sale of slaves, the separation of the husband from the wife, or that of children from parents.

Such are the principal measures, the adoption of which we recommend to the states of the South American Union.—They will meet with little opposition, in consequence of the good understanding which prevails in these countries between the two races, and of

the mild and paternal treatment which the slaves receive. Thus will be effected, and without commotion, a complete and definitive emancipation. The present slaves will enter gradually into the ranks of the free black population; a population which, like that of the free men of colour, will one day powerfully contribute to the strength and opulence of these magnificent regions. We shall terminate this essay with some reflections suggested by this important subject.

We have, it is true, asserted that slavery is an evil to South America; but we have, at the same time, denied, that this evil opposes, in the present circumstances, any serious obstacle to the complete independence of these states.

The evil of a slave population would, in the event of a foreign invasion, be peculiarly felt; the most fatal consequences would, indeed, be its inevitable result. For what might not be expected from a foreign population imported from a distant shore, among which fathers, torn by the hand of violence from their wild freedom, from their country, from their families, must have necessarily transmitted to their descendants remembrance of their wrongs, and hatred of their oppressors? What would be the feelings of an enslaved population which, distinguished from the free by its colour, beholds in that colour the indelible characters of injury and oppression? Is it not evident, that the first invading enemy would find, in this proscribed race, instruments completely subservient to his purpose? He would have only to sound, in their ears, the magic word "*emancipation*:" they would immediately join the hostile ranks, and, breaking their chains, would

convert them into weapons for the destruction of their detested masters.

We must here advert to the United States ; for it is with them that South America will seek its points of comparison. Was it not in the numerous African slaves spread over the soil of the two Carolinas, Georgia and Virginia, that the patriots found some of the most formidable enemies they had to encounter ? How powerful was the assistance which the English derived from them against their adversaries !

The only course, therefore, to be adopted, in such circumstances, is to anticipate danger, by giving immediate liberty to the slaves ; and thus, deprive the enemy of one of his most formidable resources. But we ask, What can be said in defence of a state of things which must necessarily cease at the first moment of serious danger ? And cease, how ? By the operation of violence and by endangering the safety of the whole state. For what would be the conduct of slaves suddenly liberated, and conscious that they are indebted for this benefit to no other motive than the fear which they inspire ?

These are grave considerations, and are surely sufficient to impress the necessity of a gradual and quiet emancipation.

The example of such an emancipation, we have already said, has been set by the republic of Colombia. It should be followed by the other republics, and more especially by the empire of Brasil. There, the black population is numerous, and is daily increased by the importation of fresh Africans ; for it is well known that

Portugal has constantly refused to accede to a complete abolition of the slave trade, by reserving to itself the continuation of the traffic, south of the equator. Brasil avails itself of a clause existing at the time of its union with Portugal. Whatever may have been asserted to the contrary, she has religiously abstained from the slave trade north of the line. She continues it, however, as might be expected, on that part of the African shores which is not forbidden by the existing treaties. We respect the motives which at first induced the King of Portugal to insist upon this clause, and afterwards the Emperor of Brasil to permit its execution. These motives are certainly important: a government so enlightened and liberal as that of his Imperial Majesty may have credit for the reason which will be found to justify all its acts. We shall however relate facts, and offer some questions, leaving the solution of these questions, and the inferences arising from these facts, to persons more competent and possessed of better information.

By the continuation of the traffic, Brasil places itself in direct opposition to the English government: this is one fact. It is not supposed that the cabinet of St. James's will send a fleet to blockade Rio Janeiro, and employ her cannon to advocate the cause of the oppressed Africans. But although it resorts not to this extremity, the friendly relations between Great Britain and Brasil may, in some measure, be weakened. There is another consideration—it is important to Brasil, as a rising empire, to preserve its popularity in Europe, where the slave trade is decidedly unpopular. If it is still carried on by Europeans, its continuance is illegal,

and in opposition to the treaties concluded by all the European maritime powers. It is of the utmost importance that the new Brazilian empire should lose nothing of the high esteem acquired by its first acts. Even supposing (an opinion, however, which we by no means admit) that in reference to this question Europe is in the wrong, and Brasil in the right, it would still be the interest of Brasil to respect the prejudices of Europe, whose opinion cannot be indifferent to her.

At the last congress of Verona, Lord Wellington, plenipotentiary of Great Britain, formally demanded, in the name of his government, that the powers should unanimously require of the King of Portugal the complete abolition of the slave trade; and, in case of refusal, that they should exclude from their respective ports, the importation of all commodities or merchandize, coming from the possessions of his most Faithful Majesty. This threat evidently alluded to Brasil, which was then regarded by the British plenipotentiary as one of the possessions of Portugal. Who can predict that this proposition will not be renewed, and that the powers will not accede to it? In that case, Brasil would be in a state of blockade by all the European powers, which would occasion irreparable injury to her commerce. It is probable that his imperial Majesty will see the importance of adopting consiliatory measures towards the European powers, and will perceive that, in this respect, as in so many others, sound policy is in harmony with humanity. *

* Every thing already announces that his Imperial Majesty has not been insensible to these important considerations. His government is

But another reason, not less powerful, and which should induce Brasil henceforth to shut her ports against all new importations of Africans, is, that such importations, besides having no other tendency than to recruit the ranks of slavery already so much crowded in Brasil, daily raise up new obstacles to that prudent and gradual emancipation which we have just represented as a duty incumbent upon the different states of South America. The reasons we have urged for this abolition apply still with peculiar force to Brasil. This country is daily threatened by Portugal with an invasion. Should these threats be put in execution, can there be any doubt that the first instrument she would employ would be the emancipation of the slaves? Who can foresee, without shuddering, the dreadful consequences to Brasil, from an insurrection of the slaves, supported by the gold and intrigues of Portugal?

seriously occupied in realising the great and philanthropic views with which they have inspired him. It is said, that there is an intention to open to European colonization, all the coast, or the interior parts of the empire of Brasil, susceptible of an increased population, and thus to obtain, among other advantageous results, the means of rendering imperceptible the void which the gradual abolition of slavery would occasion to agriculture and national industry. The society destined to realize this vast project, concerning which we shall not delay to give information, intends also to open, at its own expense, numerous communications between all the points of the empire, either by constructing new roads, or by digging canals; to establish stations, posts, houses, warehouses, and even, it is said, to build cities, in some parts of the empire. A conception of this nature can have originated only in a mind familiar with the most lofty and extensive views.

Who is ignorant of the eagerness with which perturbators of all denominations endeavour to engage the slave population in the accomplishment of their desperate plans. Have we not seen Carvalho exciting the basest passions, and confederating in his cause the vilest wretches in America, in order to substitute the most frightful anarchy for a legitimate, paternal and truly constitutional government? Has he not been seen threatening to let loose the enemy and the slaves upon the peaceful population who suffered under his preposterous tyranny? What a specimen of the fate which awaited the federation of the equator!

Brasil will experience less opposition than any other states in the emancipation of her slaves. The Brazilian slave, treated with humanity, enjoying advantages unknown to the slaves of the European colonies, has no reason to cherish against his master that feeling of hatred and revenge which, in the English, French, and Dutch colonies, has more than once endangered the lives of the whites. In Brasil the laws extend protection to the life of the slave, to the family ties which he has formed, and to the little property which he has acquired. From such a state of things the transition is easy to that of citizenship. Such slaves are easily convertible into docile and industrious peasants.

It is advisable to begin with the execution of some wise plans of emancipation; either of that we have proposed or any other preferable to it: above all it will be requisite to forbid the continued importation of slaves, and to prevent the number being daily aug-

mented by victims who bring with them feelings of hatred against all whites, and of revenge against their oppressors. Let Brasil, in this respect, imitate the other states of the union, and we have no doubt that without violence, without convulsions, without injury to the interests of the present proprietors, she will prudently and slowly, but effectually, accomplish the extinction of slavery; a scourge which threatens its internal security, and which, in the event of a foreign attack, would present the most formidable danger to which it could be exposed.



SKETCHES AND LITERARY REPORT.

Ancient unpublished History of Mexico, extracted from the "Ocios des Espagnolas Emigrados."

We have read in a recent number of the above Spanish Magazine, published in London, a very curious and interesting account of Mexico, written in less than half a century after its conquest, as follows:

The work was composed in Mexico by a Spanish monk of the order of *Fratres Minores*, and two copies of it were sent to Spain, one of which was deposited in the Franciscan convent of Sahagun. This copy, after being long neglected, was some time ago discovered, and consulted by a Spanish author of the name of Munoz, when writing a history of the New World. It afterwards passed, along with the manuscripts of this author, into the hands of the Secretary of State for the Indies, and by him was deposited in the library of the Academy of History at Madrid. One of the writers of the *Ocios*—a very learned man and a member of the late Cortes—who was employed to make a literary survey of the contents and religious houses of Spain, has given us this analysis and assures us that the copy of the work from which he has taken it agrees exactly with the manuscript transmitted from Mexico two centuries and a half ago. The work was originally written in the Mexican language about the year 1545, and translated into the Spanish language in 1575. The author states the difficulty he had in composing it in a language which had till then neither letter nor writings. His object was to facilitate to the ministers of the Catholic religion the discharge of their duties, by instructing them in the customs,

arts, literature, language, religion, genius, virtues, and vices of the native Mexicans, among whom they preached. Never was a juster estimate formed of the atrocities inflicted on these poor creatures by his countrymen, and never was a sense of them more forcibly expressed than in the language which he quotes and uses. "I, Friar Bernardino de Sahagun," says he, "have written these twelve books of the divine things, or rather of the idolatrous, human, and natural history of Mexico. This work will be of great service in making known the character of the Mexican race—a race which has not excited sufficient attention, because there fell upon them the curse which Jeremiah the Prophet denounced against Jerusalem:—*Lo! I will bring a nation upon you from afar; it is a mighty nation; it is an ancient nation—a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say. Their quiver is an open sepulchre: They are all mighty men. And they shall eat up thy harvest: they shall destroy thy sons and thy daughters, thy people, and thy dwellings.* This has literally happened to the Indians by the Spaniards. They were so trampled down and destroyed themselves, and every thing belonging to them, that they now retain no trace of what they once were. We know, by the accounts transmitted from former times, that they were skilled in the mechanical arts: we now see that they have an aptitude in learning the liberal arts, and for acquiring the science of theology. How able they are to endure hunger, thirst, cold, and toil; and what progress they had made in the arts of war, we know by experience." Friar Bernardino, in a preface of which the above-cited passage is a specimen, describes the ancient population of Mexico, and traces it back five hundred years before the Christian era, to the famous city of Tulla, which would appear to have had the same fate and to be connected with the same fabulous history as the city of Troy. But whence did Friar Bernardino derive this history, real or fictitious, as the people of whom he writes possessed neither

book, nor the knowledge of letters? The Monk does not conceal his sources of information. He began his work, he tells us, in the Mexican language, in the town of Tepepule, having selected, by the consent of the Governor, twelve of the oldest Indians, possessing the greatest reputation for probity. To this learned junta he daily propounded questions for the space of two years, and the replies which they gave in words, were ratified by picture writing, which was interpreted in three languages, Mexican, Latin, and Spanish, by persons in whom he had entire confidence. These persons wrote their interpretation at the foot of the picture; and "I (says the Friar) still possess the originals." This labour of historical acquisition he continued in other places, and thus collected the mass of facts, true or fabulous, with which he fills the twelve books of his work. We are sorry that we have not room to enumerate, after the learned writer in the Magazine, all the contents of these books; but the following will satisfy our readers that they may find in the articles much amusement and instruction. The first book treats of the divinities worshipped by the Mexicans, and is divided into as many chapters as there are Mexican gods—the whole number being twenty-two. These gods are made to correspond in general attributes with the fabulous beings who peopled Olympus. The Mexican worshippers must have found it easier than us to pronounce such names as the following:—*Vitzilobeechtle* (Hercules), *Xuithecutle* (Vulcan), and *Chachiuhtlyacc* (Juno) or they must have become like Horace—

"*Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens.*"

"Even the enticing name of Venus, *Tlazultentl*, must sound repulsive through any but a Mexican windpipe.

"The second book contains twenty-eight chapters, and treats of the calendar, feasts, ceremonies, and solemnities of the ancient Mexicans. Their month consisted twenty days, divided into four weeks of five days each; their months were

eighteen, composed of three hundred and sixty days. The third book, consisting of fourteen chapters, treats of the origin of the gods. The fourth book embraces the subject of judicial astrology. The sixth book treats of the rhetoric, moral philosophy, and theology of the Mexican nation, in which there are many curious things respecting the origin of their language and the state of their moral virtues. This part of the work is stated to be very interesting. The author gives some curious specimens of Mexican harangues: but we must now refer our readers to the article itself for a further account of this curious work.

Literature of the United States.

“A discourse concerning the influence of America on the human mind,” delivered before the Philosophical Society, at the University in Philadelphia, by C. J. Ingersoll, contains an able, though somewhat panegyrical account of the present state of America with regard to government, religion, science, and literature. The progress which is daily making in the United States in every species of useful knowledge is truly astonishing. Never were the energies of a great people more rapidly and more successfully developed. The following extracts will give some idea of the state of literature on the other side of the Atlantic:—“The publication of books is so much cheaper in this country than in Great Britain, that nearly all we use are American editions. According to reports from the Custom-houses made under a resolution of the Senate in 1822, it appears that the importation of books bears an extremely small proportion to the American editions. The imported books are the mere seed. It is estimated that between two and three millions of dollars worth of books are annually published in the United States. It is to be regretted that literary property here is held by an imperfect tenure; there being no other protection for it than the provisions of an inefficient Act of Congress, the impotent offspring of an

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models—the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, of which about four thousand copies are also published in the United States. Written in a pure old English style, and for the most part a fine American spirit, the North American Review superintends with ability the literature and science of America.”

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We find in a New York paper the following official statement of the number of newspapers published in the United States during the year 1823:—

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Whilst all just and benevolent minds are afflicted at the sight of the accumulated horrors with which a

* Treuttel and Wurtz, Treuttel jun., and Richter, 30, Soho Square.

stupid and ferocious tyranny new menaces, with increased fury, beautiful and unhappy Spain, a far different spectacle invites and consoles our eyes in the other hemisphere. In reflecting on the deplorable condition of the mother-country, and on the state of order and prosperity, towards which her former colonies are advancing with gigantic strides, it is impossible not to bless Providence, which, in tearing asunder the bonds that united these two countries, has, as it were, separated life from death.

The work before us is a striking proof of this truth; we have only to read it to be convinced that there is no branch of the social organization of the most civilized countries, in which the republic of Colombia has not made, and is not daily making, advances which would formerly have appeared fabulous. Her civil, religious, political, commercial and military institutions, are all rapidly attaining form, solidity and perfection, under the guidance of experience and of philosophy.

This phenomenon was little known to Europe, which until now possessed not a book from which it could perfectly appreciate the state and progress of the New World. The work which lies before us, is of a kind to remove all doubts upon the subject. It is not the production of an individual devoted to this or that party; it is the work of the depositaries of power, rendering a solemn account of the results they have obtained by the exercise of that power to the nation from which they received it, and attempting no concealment of the numerous evils which still remain to be remedied. The affairs of each department are successively submitted to the examination of the public by their respective ministers. The reports are written

in a tone of sincerity and earnestness, which is very persuasive. They contain a mass of interesting facts, of curious details, of new data, and of documents; derived, as may be concluded, from the highest sources; they form, at the same time, a history of the war of independence, a disclosure of the secrets and the operations of government, and a faithful picture of the actual state of the republic. They pronounce no panegyric either upon the people or the government. We strongly recommend this important work to all who are interested in the fate of the republic of Colombia, and who desire to be enabled to form a correct judgment as to the affairs and the inhabitants of that country.

American Atlas, Folio, with 160 plates.

The interests of commerce, which is so dependant for future resources on the condition of South America, loudly demanded the publication of a work which might exhibit a complete and connected view of those scattered documents as to the history, statistics and geography of the country, which were only to be obtained with great labour and difficulty. An historical Atlas, published in the United States two years ago, upon the plan of Le Sage, perfectly satisfies this demand. Our readers will doubtless learn with pleasure that M. Buchon, the author of several successful works, has just republished the American Atlas in France. He has made numerous corrections and additions to the original edition, and has increased the number of plates and maps from 156 to 160.

M. Buchon has rendered his Atlas complete, by

giving maps of the New States formed since the date of the original publication

Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico, containing Remarks on the present State of New Spain and its natural Productions, State of Society, Manufactures, Trade, &c. with plates and maps. By W. Bullock proprietor of the late London Museum, 8vo.

This is an excellent work, which all well informed persons, or those who wish to become so, ought to read. It contains a very exact representation of the physical, moral, and political condition of Mexico. The author appears to be a man of extensive knowledge and perfect veracity. He will never be classed among those travellers who are used by certain governments as instruments for conveying into the public mind false ideas of the countries they have traversed. Mr. Bullock calumniates neither the institutions nor the inhabitants of Mexico; he exaggerates on neither side; he is a faithful guide, and may be securely followed, as his observations are unperverted by passion. He writes neither in favour of the ruling party, nor of any particular system. The only sentiments which are uniformly conspicuous throughout his book are those of a sincere attachment to the great principles of humanity and justice. We regret that we cannot here give some extracts from his work (to which however we shall return hereafter.) We recommend it to the attention of all persons interested in the prosperity of Mexico, "a prosperity which," says the author "must always depend on the working of her immense mineral treasures." This assertion he justifies by inconvertible facts.

Geographical Society—Paris—President Viscount de Chateaubriand.

This truly useful society, formed for a specific purpose and devoted to active labours, has already subsisted for two years, and reckons among its members many men of eminence in the scientific and literary world.

It was instituted to aid and encourage the progress of geographical knowledge. The objects of the society are to send expeditions to unknown countries, to propose and adjudge prizes, to hold correspondences with the learned societies, navigators, and geographers of all countries; to publish unedited narratives, as well as works which have been prepared for the press, and to engrave maps.

Such are the useful and honourable views with which the society was formed. However indispensable geography may be for the productive cultivation of other branches of human knowledge, it is well known how much remains for her to achieve, how many regions to explore and to describe, even in the civilized parts of the globe. All the zealous lovers of science, of whatever country or clime, ought to hail the formation of an association, the sole object of which is the advancement of knowledge, and the welfare of mankind; and which invites the co-operation of all enlightened men in either hemisphere.

The lovers of geographical studies who inhabit the vast regions of the New World, appear to us to be particularly interested in forming an intimate alliance with the geographical society of Paris, and in offering to it the assistance of whatever information they possess. In one of our next Numbers we hope to be able to lay before our readers the regulations of this society, to which strangers are admitted on precisely the same footing as natives.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SECOND LETTER FROM LISBON.

To the Editor of the American Monitor.

Lisbon, Nov. 1824.

The subject of this letter is not the one to which I intend to devote it. I meant to bring you acquainted with some of the acts of our internal administrations thanks to which, a country endowed by nature with all the means of happiness, is reduced to the most lamentable and precarious condition; her industry sacrificed to the interests of monopolists, her means of subsistence sold to forestallers, her hospitality violated, the misfortunes of her sons basely insulted, in a word, all the sources of national prosperity dried up by the influence of a man without energy, capacity, humanity or justice, who seems to delight in abusing the patience of the unfortunate people subjected to his authority. I wished, therefore, to follow in detail, the series of domestic calamities with which M. de Pamplona has afflicted a generous nation, by some inconceivable fatality compelled, for two wretched years, to endure his ministry. But events still more important now absorb the public attention, and call aloud for the animadversion of all men who are not totally indifferent to the national morality, and to the dignity of the throne. I allude to the innumerable conspiracies recently manufactured in this country, by means of which our prime minister doubtless hopes to obtain a short extension of a power universally detested, and ready to fall before public reprobation.

It appears as if the machine for the manufacture of con-

arts, literature, language, religion, genius, virtues, and vices of the native Mexicans, among whom they preached. Never was a juster estimate formed of the atrocities inflicted on these poor creatures by his countrymen, and never was a sense of them more forcibly expressed than in the language which he quotes and uses. "I, Friar Bernardino de Sahagun," says he, "have written these twelve books of the divine things, or rather of the idolatrous, human, and natural history of Mexico. This work will be of great service in making known the character of the Mexican race—a race which has not excited sufficient attention, because there fell upon them the curse which Jeremiah the Prophet denounced against Jerusalem:—*Lo! I will bring a nation upon you from afar; it is a mighty nation; it is an ancient nation—a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say. Their quiver is an open sepulchre: They are all mighty men. And they shall eat up thy harvest: they shall destroy thy sons and thy daughters, thy people, and thy dwellings.* This has literally happened to the Indians by the Spaniards. They were so trampled down and destroyed themselves, and every thing belonging to them, that they now retain no trace of what they once were. We know, by the accounts transmitted from former times, that they were skilled in the mechanical arts: we now see that they have an aptitude in learning the liberal arts, and for acquiring the science of theology. How able they are to endure hunger, thirst, cold, and toil; and what progress they had made in the arts of war, we know by experience." Friar Bernardino, in a preface of which the above-cited passage is a specimen, describes the ancient population of Mexico, and traces it back five hundred years before the Christian era, to the famous city of Tulla, which would appear to have had the same fate and to be connected with the same fabulous history as the city of Troy. But whence did Friar Bernardino derive this history, real or fictitious, as the people of whom he writes possessed neither

book, nor the knowledge of letters? The Monk does not conceal his sources of information. He began his work, he tells us, in the Mexican language, in the town of Tepepule, being selected, by the consent of the Governor, twelve of the best Indians, possessing the greatest reputation for probity. In this learned junta he daily propounded questions for a space of two years, and the replies which they gave in words, were ratified by picture writing, which was interpreted in three languages, Mexican, Latin, and Spanish, by persons whom he had entire confidence. These persons wrote their interpretation at the foot of the picture; and "I (says the author) still possess the originals." This labour of historical investigation he continued in other places, and thus collected the mass of facts, true or fabulous, with which he fills the twelve books of his work. We are sorry that we have not room to enumerate, after the learned writer in the Magazine, all the contents of these books; but the following will satisfy our readers that they may find in the articles much amusement and instruction. The first book treats of the divinities worshipped by the Mexicans, and is divided into as many chapters as there are Mexican gods—the whole number being thirty-two. These gods are made to correspond in general attributes with the fabulous beings who peopled Olympus. Mexican worshippers must have found it easier than us to pronounce such names as the following:—*Vitzilobeechtli* (Jupiter), *Xuithecutli* (Vulcan), and *Chachiuhtlyacc* (Juno) they must have become like Horace—

"*Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens.*"

Even the enticing name of Venus, *Tlazultentli*, must sound repulsive through any but a Mexican windpipe.

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that—if the continental powers of Europe, sooner or later, determined to co-operate in restoring the ancient order of things in the colonies, (hopes of which might be entertained from the attitude assumed by France towards St. Domingo)—Portugal might not have to regret having taken the lead in a course contrary to the political system of Europe, and at variance with the re-establishment of her own rights. The minister then stated his opinion of some diplomatical disclosures, real or fictitious, as to the means secretly adopted by some cabinets for the purpose of checking the progress of American emancipation. He concluded that the King of Portugal, so far from sanctioning the independence of Brasil, ought to paralyze its efforts by delays, and by a continued display of the most imposing preparations for attack.

The Archbishop of Evora then rose, to second the opinion of the minister whose arguments he indeed merely recapitulated. The only new matter consisted of some very violent suggestions, founded, as may be readily imagined, on the supposed interests of the church and of the throne. But, to the great discomfiture of these declaimers, a man of integrity, whose patience is at length exhausted by the selfishness of M. de Pamplona, ventured to raise his voice in opposition to the opinion of his colleagues, and to contest their sophisms in so energetic and so sincere a manner, that the king and the council declared themselves on his side, and His Majesty awoke, to a certain degree, from that fatal delusion which has hitherto subjected his mind entirely to the ascendancy of the prime minister. “It is time,” said a member of the cabinet, “to cease to occupy our minds about fictions, and to think seriously of remedying the disasters of the state. To reduce Brasil to her ancient condition is a thing evidently impossible; it is by no means impossible to unite her independence with the prosperity of Portugal; and this is the end towards which all the cares and measures of government ought to tend. The contrary line of conduct, which has just been proposed to us,

have no other effect than to excite mutual hatred, and gratuitously to perpetrate the sufferings of the two countries. If merchant vessels rot in the Tagus, our manufactories are daily closing, our merchants know not how to dispose of the goods their warehouses contain, our towns are burthened with idle hands whom want of employment reduces to the worst misery. Now, our sailors, our merchants, our artisans, our labourers, in fact, the whole people, cry aloud for markets for their manufactures and commerce; and from the situation which we are placed by existing commercial treaties, these markets can only be found for us in Brasil. There we must seek them by a cordial and sincere termination of the protracted discords which ruin Portugal, by depriving her of the only commerce from which she can hope to derive advantage. It is time to free this important question from all considerations which self-love, personal resentment, or fear, may have interwoven with it; it is time to make a courageous sacrifice of individual to national interests, to throw away all false appearances, all secret reservations. The reciprocal rights and obligations of Portugal and Brasil ought to be authentically and distinctly determined. Negotiations ought not to be undertaken merely with a view to adjust occasional incidents, but in order to settle, as quickly as possible, the new relations which sooner or later must subsist between the two states. Each will then be enabled to derive from her new situation all the advantages of which it can be made productive. It is useless to endeavour to disguise the fact—the separation being actually made in public opinion, in the general wants, and in the present institutions of Brasil, it would be absolute insanity to attempt to re-establish the ancient order of things. Every effort for the accomplishment of such a purpose would be accompanied or followed by misfortunes interminable as gratuitous; and as to the

objections drawn from the necessity of subjecting the policy of Portugal, with regard to her ancient colony, to the rules which govern the policy of foreign cabinets, they are altogether mischievous to the nation. Those objections can be applicable only to Spain, and in the state of discolation in which we behold that wretched country, the project of binding ourselves to the imitation of her measures is, in fact, that of attaching a healthy and vigorous body to one given over to death and corruption. It is, moreover, inconsistent both with the dignity and with the interests of Portugal to embarrass her political system with the difficulties of other states. The minister, who has just proposed the adoption of contrary measures, must also surely have forgotten that the King of Portugal was the first and the only sovereign of Europe who acknowledged the independence of Buenos Ayres, and that he took this step at a time when Spain might, with much more reason than now, have resented it, as injurious to her authority. Let us then no longer leave Brasil in doubt, as to what are the intentions of Portugal. If we do, we drive her to offer to another power that priority in commercial relations and those exclusive advantages of an alliance, which can alone indemnify us for what we have lost in the absolute rights of sovereignty."

If the Portuguese ministry still possesses a statesman capable of holding such language, Portugal is saved.

The highly respectable individual from whom we received these details assured us, that nothing could equal the electrical effect produced by this energetic appeal upon the council, and even upon the creatures of M. de Ramplona, who till that moment never suspected that it was possible to speak or to think in opposition to their patron. Even the King appeared struck by it, and to the utter despair of his Excellency and of his Reverence, the Council resolved to admit as a basis of ulte-

negotiation with Brazil, the preliminary recognition of the dependence of the empire.

Nevertheless, whatever changes may take place around de Pamplona, he remains unshaken in the resolution to sacrifice Portugal to his personal interests. He appears to have assailed himself against humiliation and against removal. To retain power at any price is the only purpose from which he never deviates. There exists a general persuasion, that a disturbance of the 11th, which he represents to the King as a formidable conspiracy to assassinate the ministers and to compel His Majesty to abdicate in favour of the Infant Don Miguel, was fomented by him, solely with a view to regain the ascendancy he had partly lost over the timorous mind of the Monarch, and to reduce him to his former state of mental dependence. However this may be, every body in Lisbon believes that, if any conspiracy did actually exist, it threatened neither the life nor the authority of the King, who is universally beloved; but that it was directed solely against the insupportable tyranny of Pamplona, who, on the contrary, is an object of universal hatred, a hatred totally independent of political opinions.

If you ask me how it happens that his despotism has so long withstood the force of public opinion so vehemently directed against it, I answer, that there is nothing wonderful in this. First, because public opinion is feeble and inoperative in a country where it is supported neither by liberty of the press nor by powerful bodies, nor by stable institutions; and that in such a state of things, the most mischievous administration may, for a long time, brave it with impunity. Secondly, because it is unfortunately proved by experience, that an inconceivable fatality often condemns our excellent King to grant his exclusive confidence to incapable or to dishonest men; as a proof of the former we may mention the favour which M. Thomas Antonio enjoyed in 1820, and of the latter,

the still more surprising ascendancy of M. de Pamplona. It is however generally hoped, that the domination of the latter approaches its close, and that Portugal, too long misrepresented and calumniated to her Sovereign and to Europe, will soon cease to be a prey to a mean, turbulent, unjust, cruel and hated administration, in which the little Machiavel who turns the nation to his own profit, has the insolence to assert that it can be governed only by corruption, deceit and tyranny. It is perfectly certain that no government in the world can, without danger, continue to employ a man who has so long stood as a mark for all the attacks of satire and invective.

I am, Sir,

&c. &c.



MISCELLANIES.

What an excellent invention is that of advertising the public papers, particularly in such a great city as London. This species of politico-mercantile-literary salmagundi presents every day new food for public curiosity, such as "a first floor to let", a young person "of an unquestionable character" offering herself as a maid of all work; a young widow of thirty-five who would have no objection to direct the household of a single gentleman provided no man servant be kept; or a Swiss lady of a superior understanding, and who can speak the French language in the purest Helvetian style, who wishes to undertake the education of a young ladies of rank, and whom she will instruct in every thing even including the use of the globes. But the most precious article next to the marriage-establishment of Great St. Helens, is the correspondence of His Excellency Manoel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade, ex-president of the Province of Pernambuco, founder of the confederation of the equator and generalissimo of the armies of the late northern provinces, at present residing at the Tavistock Hotel. This great man has discovered a sure method to get himself talked of, and for the trifling sum of about seven shillings, has been enabled to put the three kingdoms in possession of his sentiments of gratitude towards Captains Hann and Wills R. N. to whom he is indeed under *capital obligations*. The following is the method he

has employed, we recommend it to the heroes of the day who, in defiance of prudence and of shme, are absolutely determined to make an *impression*.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—Permit me, through the medium of your paper, to give a public testimony of my thanks to Captain Haun, of his Britannic Majesty's ship Tweed, for the kind attention I have experienced from him; and likewise to express the great obligations I feel myself under to Captain Wills, of his Britannic Majesty's ship Brazen, with whom I came to England, and to assure those worthy and meritorious officers of the high respect and esteem which I shall ever entertain for them. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

MANOEL DE CARVALHÔ PAES D'ANDRADE,
ex-President of the Province of Pernambuco.

Tavistock Hotel Nov. 4.

From Madrid they write as follows:—Formerly during the fine season, the good people of this capital crowded eagerly to the menagerie to see the wild beasts which it contained; but besides that this was not quite unattended by danger, there are some persons on whom the sight of wild beasts produces an unpleasant effect and who, through timidity, prefer to panthers and leopards a tiger, not less cruel, but whose form is something more human. To satisfy their imprudent curiosity, these persons at present turn their course towards the royal menagerie which has been lately removed to some leagues distance from Madrid, where they hope to steal a glance at this monster, without incurring any danger; but let them take care, for connois-

rs assert that tame as he appears, he is more terrible than the African lion, the hyena, or the serpent Goa.

Letters from the same capital announce, that in consequence of the brilliant triumph obtained by the royalist army in Peru, His most Catholic Apostolic and Roman Majesty has re-appointed General La ma, Viceroy of that beautiful country, at the same time conferring on him the title of "Duque de Los Andes;" and as the victory of the royalists over the independents is confirmed beyond dispute, by the last news from the valley of Junin, it is expected that the new duke will take possession of his dukedom "de Los Andes" the same day that Ferdinand the VII. shall assume the crowns of the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, the Algarves, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, Brabant, the Milanese, the Tyrol and all the other countries which had been subjected by fortune to the sceptre of Charles V.

According to the latest intelligence received, the port of Callao continued, as before stated, to be blockaded by the Peruvian fleet, under the command of Admiral Guise. At Valparaiso great exertions are used to equip *La Isabel*, formerly the *O'Higgins* frigate, of 45 guns, and to despatch her to reinforce the Peruvian squadron before Callao. With this addition it was hoped that a capture might be effected of the Spanish ship of war the *Asia*, shortly expected to arrive in those seas, but of which, although an anxious look-out had been kept, no tidings could be obtained. Due gratitude is expressed to His Catholic

Majesty for sending so fine and useful a ship there to augment the strength of the patriot squadron.

A fatal event which threatens to prolong the agony of the Spaniards has just completed their despair, the Infanta Donna Maria Francisca has been brought to bed of a son, to whom the King stood sponsor and to whom the name of Ferdinand has been given. *Santa Maria ora pro nobis!*

At the same time that Heaven hurled this thunderbolt against unhappy Spain, it gave to Brasil a new proof of its goodness, another guarantee of the independence, of the liberty and of the prosperity of this fine country, by bestowing a new scion on the cherished race of Don Pedro. The 12th of August was a brilliant day for the court of Brasil. On that day took place the solemnity of the baptism of an Imperial Princess, born the 2nd; and the Emperor Don Pedro made many promotions, civil, judicial, military, and naval. We find that no less than fifty knights were added to the Order of Christ, and a proportionate number of grand crosses, officers and knights, to the order of the **CROSIERS**. Among the Dignitaries of the latter order, we find the name of the identical Captain John Taylor, who was dismissed the Brazilian service two days before.

While the Congress of Mexico were engaged in providing an honourable existence for the widow and orphans of the unfortunate Iturbide, on the result of

whose enterprise their fate entirely depended, the *Gazette* of Madrid, of the 14th of September, published an order, by which divers privileges and favours were granted to the town of Torre de Pedro-Gil, and to those who contributed to the arrest of the gallant Riego, announced a grant of 1000 reals for the annual celebration of a fete on the anniversary of the day that Riego and his companions were betrayed—when the monk Vicente-Guerrero, who first seized Riego, is to carry a holy banner, and in case of prevention, his nearest relation is to have that honour; and further, the hermitage of this fanatic is to be enlarged and embellished, and the brothers, Pedro and Mateo Lopes-Sara, are to be richly rewarded for having assisted in the arrest of the patriot Riego. We ask every one who examines these facts, on which side do they find moderation, humanity, and justice?

Is an idea of the height to which the impudence and cynicism of the divan of Madrid may arrive at wanted? Let the following extract from the gazette, (whose duty it is to bring to light the monstrous assemblage of its blunders and crimes) be read.

The Minister of Marine has received the following official intelligence from Puerto-Rico, dated May 15:—

“I transmit to your Excellency the report of the advantages which the arms of the King our Sovereign have obtained in the kingdom of Santa-Fe, whose troops occupy the capital, as well as the province of Maracaibo.

“We were already informed of the successive defeats which Bolivar has sustained in Peru. A faithful Spaniard, named Vincent Perra, a man of great sense and

very worthy of credit, has arrived from Maracaibo, which he only quitted last month. He has given me the most circumstantial details respecting the weakness of the forces and resources of the rebels. Misery overwhelms and disunites them; every where are heard wishes for the re-establishment of the Royal authority. A very inconsiderable force would suffice to rally all well-disposed people, who are pressed to despair by the vexations and exactions of the individuals who compose the revolutionary government.

“Colonel Perez, a Spanish refugee, was assassinated in open day in the streets of Puerto Cabello. A black captain publicly exclaimed, “*Vive le Roi!*” and no one ventured to attack him.

“The revolutionary troops have not received one real for upwards of a year; they receive salt meat and biscuit in lieu of pay. The want of money is so great, that the Insurgents have been obliged to disarm two brigantines, the *Plumina* and the *Ourica*. The English Captain (Maitland) has resigned his command, not being able any longer to endure this extreme of misery.

“Santa-Fe is occupied by the Royalist General Canterac. Bolivar, who had assembled fourteen thousand under his orders, has been completely beaten and routed by a less numerous corps of the Royal army. It is principally to the Spanish cavalry that this triumph of the good cause is due. The results of this victory have been, in the first place, that four thousand insurgents have abandoned the standard of revolt to range themselves under the Royal banners, and the flight of Bolivar as far as Carthagena—a flight which was so precipitate, that his guard of honour either perished

or abandoned him. His Lieutenant (Sucre) is wandering about with a feeble detachment; he vainly solicits re-inforcements from his Government; but far from remedying so many disasters, the revolutionary authorities will not hear a word about them. The punishment of death is decreed against whoever circulates news from the army.

“Anarchy reigns every where. Cisneros is roving about the country with a band, sometimes consisting of three hundred men, sometimes of ten, pillaging and sacking. The inhabitants of the district of Zulia have offered 3,000 piastres for his head.

“At Llano, the men of colour had conspired a general massacre of the whites. Paez has caused seven Colonels to be shot, who were implicated in this conspiracy.

“Captain Don Juan Amengueal has brought the important news, that the Royalist General Urdaneta has re-taken possession of the fortress of Maracaibo. He has, besides, seized at Laguna, seven ships belonging to the rebels. The few revolting troops which were in that quarter have fled as far as Coro.

“Independently of the facts here stated, the Gazettes of Arequipa and Cuzco contain the following details respecting the events which have taken place in Upper Peru. It is remarkable that these several articles of intelligence bear the title of Official Correspondence.

“It was on the 28th of October that the Viceroy La Serna (who closely pursued the Insurgents across the valley of Sicasica) succeeded in coming up with them at Cochabamba. They were commanded by Lanza; the action was warmly maintained; but the Royalist infantry decided the victory, by charging with the bayonet. The enemy left on the field of battle all

their artillery, caissons, and baggage. Their loss in killed and wounded is upwards of six hundred, without reckoning five hundred prisoners who remain in the power of the Royal army.

“ Madrid, Oct. 11.

“ The Madrid Gazette mentions the principal news brought by Brigadier-General Don Buldomiro Espartero, chief of the staff of the army of the Viceroy La Serna, who landed on the 29th of September at Cadiz, but has not yet arrived at the Escorial. He left Quiloa in Peru, on the 2nd June last.

“ We find, from this news, that there were four corps, the total strength of which is eighteen thousand five hundred men, marching against Bolivar, whose troops are estimated at only six thousand combatants. The first corps, under the command of the General-in-Chief Canterac, would advance by the mountains; the second, of three thousand men, commanded by General Monet, would proceed along the sea-coast; the third, of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Carratala, would march between the two, and follow with a rear-guard of three thousand men.

“ The same Gazette announces that the Emperor of Brasil had been dethroned in an insurrection.”

Well, readers, what do you think of it?

It is confidently asserted that the report made by Colonel Campbell to the English government, on the present state of the republic of Colombia, is extremely favourable to the recognition of the independence of that country, and that there is no longer a doubt that our ministers are determined to acknowledge it.

It appears from the American papers that the Colombian Congress having authorized the Vice-President of the republic to accept a snuff-box which had been sent to him as a present from the King of England, he received it at the beginning of July.

Important to empire hunters and loan contractors. A decree of the Colombian government, relating to the project of colonization of Sir Gregor McGregor, declares illegal all attempt at colonization on any part of the Mosquito coast, which belongs to the republic of Colombia; consequently, every individual who may attempt to form establishments on this coast will be liable to the punishments inflicted on those who usurp national property or disturb public tranquillity.

Letters from Mexico bring the following :—Mr. Samuel, the French commissary who, under pretence of demanding the liberation of several Frenchmen detained in the prisons of Mexico for political causes, has entered into relations with Don Luis de Alaman, minister for foreign affairs, to whom he has made overtures, by indirectly offering him the good offices of the French government with the cabinet of Madrid, in order to induce the latter to acknowledge the independence of the Mexican confederation; it is also added, that the correspondence which might be opened on this subject will be followed by some French men of war, leaving Brest harbour for Vera Cruz; that the cabinet of the Tuilleries would act as intermediary to this correspondence, and in fine, that these overtures being well received, advantageous results were expected for the three states.

AMERICAN FUNDS.

Dec. 24th, 1824.

The favourable news from America has occasioned a considerable advance in American securities. Chilian bonds, which a few weeks ago were unsaleable at 76½, have advanced to 81. Mexican bonds, which opened this day at 68¾, advanced to 70½ for the settlement at the end of the month. United Mexican Mine Shares were in demand at 43%, but afterwards declined one pound a share. A farther improvement will follow the payment of the next instalment due on these shares, on the 14th of January next. Brazilian Mine Shares have advanced to a premium of 1½ per cent., and they are gradually obtaining the confidence of the public. The shares of the Rio de la Plata Company are higher.

PRICES AT CLOSING.

Anglo Mexican Mine 100% shares, 10% paid	38¾	39
Brazilian	100 — 5 —	1¼ ½ pr.
Colombian	100 — 5 —	20% 20¼
Rio de la Plata	100 — 5 —	15¼% ½
Real del Monte	400 — 70 —	740% pr.
Brazilian Bonds, 75		
Ditto Scrip, 5 per cent. for the account 30th Dec. 2¾ pr.		
Buenos Ayres Bonds, 6 per cent. 88½		
Chilian Bonds, 6 per cent. 79½, 80¼, 80½		
Ditto for Account, 30th Dec. 79¾ 81 80¼ ¾ ½ ½		
Colombian Bonds, 6 per cent. 83¾ 4		
Colombian Bonds, 1824, 86¼, ditto for account, 86 ½		
Mexican Bonds, 5 per cent. 69 8¾ 9¾ ¼ 70¾ ⅞ ¼		
Ditto for the account, 69¼ ¾ ¼ ⅝ ½ ¾ ¾ 70½ ¾		
Peruvian Bonds, 74 ½, ditto for the account, 30 Dec., 76¼		

THE
AMERICAN MONITOR,

No. III.

A MONTHLY
Political, Historical, and Commercial
MAGAZINE,

PARTICULARLY DEVOTED TO THE
AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AMERICA.



HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

UNITED STATES.

*Message of the President of the United States to both
Houses of Congress.*

Washington, Dec. 7, 1824.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives—The view which I now present to you of our affairs, foreign and domestic, realizes the most sanguine anticipations which have been entertained of the public prosperity. If we look to the whole, our growth, as a nation, con-

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tinues to be rapid beyond example: if to the states which compose it, the same gratifying spectacle is exhibited. Our expansion over the vast territory within our limits, has been great, without indicating any decline in those sections from which the emigration has been most conspicuous. We have daily gained strength, by a native population, in every quarter; a population devoted to our happy system of government, and cherishing the bond of union with fraternal affection. Experience has already shown that the difference of climate and of industry, proceeding from that cause inseparable from such vast domains, and which, under other systems, might have a repulsive tendency, cannot fail to produce with us, under wise regulations, the opposite effect. What one portion wants the other may supply; and this will be most sensibly felt by the parts most distant from each other, forming thereby a domestic market, and an active intercourse between the extremes, and throughout every part of our union. Thus, by a happy distribution of power between the national and state governments, governments which rest exclusively on the sovereignty of the people, and are fully adequate to the great purposes for which they were respectively instituted, causes which might otherwise lead to dismemberment, operate powerfully to draw us closer together. In every other circumstance, a correct view of the actual state of our union must be equally gratifying to our constituents. Our relations with foreign powers are of a friendly character, although certain interesting differences remain unsettled with some. Our revenue, under the mild system of impost and tonnage, continues to be adequate to all the purposes of the government. Our agriculture, commerce, manufactures and navigation flourish. Our fortifications are advancing in the degrees authorized by existing appropriations, to maturity; and due progress is made in the augmentation of the navy, to the limit prescribed for it by law. For these blessings we owe to Almighty God, from whom we derive them, and with profound

reverence, our most grateful and unceasing acknowledgments.

In adverting to our relations with foreign powers, which are always an object of the highest importance, I have to remark, that of the subjects which have been brought into discussion with them during the present administration, some have been satisfactorily terminated ; others have been suspended to be resumed hereafter, under circumstances more favourable to success ; and others are still in negociation, with the hope that they may be adjusted with mutual accommodation to the interests and to the satisfaction of the respective parties. It has been the invariable object of this government to cherish the most friendly relations with every power, and on principles and conditions which might make them permanent. A systematic effort has been made to place our commerce with each power on a footing of perfect reciprocity ; to settle with each, in a spirit of candour and liberality, all existing differences, and to anticipate and remove, so far as it might be practicable, all causes of future variance.

It having been stipulated, by the seventh article of the convention of navigation and commerce, which was concluded on the 24th of June, 1822, between the United States and France, that the said convention should continue in force for two years from the 1st of October of that year, and for an indefinite term afterwards, unless one of the parties should declare its intention to renounce it, in which event, it should cease to operate at the end of six months from such declaration : and no such intention having been announced, the convention having been found advantageous to both parties, it has since remained, and still remains in full force. At the time when that convention was concluded, many interesting subjects were left unsettled, and particularly our claims to indemnity for spoliations which were committed on our commerce in the late wars. For these interests and claims, it was in the contemplation of the parties to make provision at a

subsequent day, by a more comprehensive and definite treaty. The object has been duly attended to since by the executive, but as yet it has not been accomplished. It is hoped that a favourable opportunity will present itself for opening a negotiation, which may embrace and arrange all existing differences, and every other concern in which they have a common interest, upon the accession of the present King of France—an event which has occurred since the close of the last session of Congress.

With Great Britain our commercial intercourse rests on the same footing that it did at the last session. By the convention of 1815, the commerce between the United States and the British dominions in Europe and the East Indies was arranged on a principle of reciprocity. That convention was confirmed and continued in force, with slight exceptions, by a subsequent treaty, for the term of ten years, from the 20th of October, 1818, the date of the latter. The trade with the British colonies in the West Indies has not, as yet, been arranged by treaty, or otherwise, to our satisfaction. An approach to that result has been made by legislative acts, whereby many serious impediments which had been raised by the parties, in defence of their respective claims, were removed. An earnest desire exists, and has been manifested, on the part of this government, to place the commerce with the colonies, likewise, on a footing of reciprocal advantage; and it is to be hoped that the British government, seeing the justice of the proposal, and its importance to the colonies, will, ere long, accede to it.

The commissioners who were appointed for the adjustment of the boundary between the territories of the United States and those of Great Britain, specified in the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their decision, and both governments having agreed to establish that boundary by amicable negotiation between them, it is hoped that it may be satisfactorily adjusted in that mode. The boundary spe-

cified by the sixth article has been established by the decision of the commissioners. From the progress made in that provided for by the seventh, according to a report recently received, there is good cause to presume that it will be settled in the course of the ensuing year.

It is a cause of serious regret, that no arrangement has yet been finally concluded between the two governments, to secure, by joint co-operation, the suppression of the slave-trade. It was the object of the British government, in the early stages of the negotiation, to adopt a plan for the suppression which should include the concession of the mutual right of search by the ships of war of each party, of the vessels of the other, for suspected offenders. This was objected to by this government, on the principle that as the right of search was a right of war, of a belligerent towards a neutral power, it might have an ill effect to extend it, by treaty, to an offence which had been made comparatively mild, to a time of peace. Anxious, however, for the suppression of this trade, it was thought advisable, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, founded on an act of Congress, to propose to the British government an expedient which should be free from that objection, and more effectual for the object, by making it piratical. In that mode the enormity of the crime would place the offenders out of the protection of their government, and involve no question of search, or other question, between the parties, touching their respective rights. It was believed, also, that it would completely suppress the trade in the vessels of both parties, and by their respective citizens and subjects in those of other powers, with whom, it was hoped, that the odium which would thereby be attached to it, would produce a corresponding arrangement, and by means thereof, its entire extirpation for ever. A convention to this effect was concluded and signed in London, on the 13th day of March, 1824, by plenipotentiaries duly authorised by both governments, to the ratification of which certain obstacles have arisen, which

are not yet entirely removed. The differences between the parties still remaining, have been reduced to a point, not of sufficient magnitude, as is presumed, to be permitted to defeat an object so near to the hearts of both nations, and so desirable to the friends of humanity throughout the world. As objections, however, to the principle recommended by the House of Representatives, or at least to the consequences inseparable from it, and which are understood to apply to the law, have been raised, which may deserve a reconsideration of the whole subject, I have thought it proper to suspend the conclusion of a new convention until the definitive sentiments of Congress may be ascertained. The documents relating to that negotiation are, with that intent, submitted to your consideration.

Our commerce with Sweden has been placed on a footing of perfect reciprocity, by treaty; and with Russia, the Netherlands, Prussia, the free Hanseatic cities, the Dukedoms of Oldenburgh and Sardinia, by internal regulations on each side, founded on mutual agreement between the respective governments.

The principles upon which the commercial policy of the United States is founded are to be traced to an early period. They are essentially connected with those upon which their independence was declared, and owe their origin to the enlightened men who took the lead in our affairs at that important epoch. They are developed in their first treaty of commerce with France, of the 6th of February, 1778, and by a formal commission which was instituted immediately after the conclusion of their revolutionary struggle, for the purpose of negotiating treaties of commerce with every European power. The first treaty of the United States with Prussia, which was negotiated by that commission, affords a signal illustration of those principles. The act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1815, adopted immediately after the return of a general peace, was a new overture to foreign nations, to establish our commercial relation with them on the basis of free and equal reciprocity. The principle has pervaded all the acts of Con-

gress and all the negotiations of the Executive on the subject since.

A convention for the settlement of important questions, in relation to the north-west coast of this continent, and its adjoining seas was concluded and signed at St. Petersburg, on the of last, by the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, and plenipotentiaries of the imperial government of Russia. It will immediately be laid before the Senate, for the exercise of the constitutional authority of that body, with reference to its ratification. It is proper to add, that the manner in which this negotiation was invited and conducted, on the part of the Emperor, has been very satisfactory.

The great and extraordinary changes which have happened in the governments of Spain and Portugal within the last two years, without seriously affecting the friendly relations which, under all of them, have been maintained with those powers by the United States, have been obstacles to the adjustment of the particular subjects of discussion which have arisen with each. A resolution of the Senate, adopted at their last session, called for information as to the effect produced upon our relations with Spain by the recognition, on the part of the United States, of the independent South American governments. The papers containing that information are now communicated to Congress.

A chargé d'affaires has been received from the independent government of Brasil. That country, heretofore a colonial possession of Portugal, had some years since been proclaimed, by the Sovereign of Portugal himself, an independent kingdom. Since his return to Lisbon, a revolution in Brasil has established a new government there, with an imperial title, at the head of which is placed the Prince in whom the regency had been vested by the king at the time of his departure. There is reason to expect, that by amicable nego-

tiation, the independence of Brasil will ere long be recognized by Portugal herself.

With the remaining powers of Europe, with those on the coast of Barbary, and with all the new South American States, our relations are of a friendly character. We have ministers plenipotentiary residing with the republics of Colombia and Chili, and have received ministers of the same rank from Colombia, Guatemala, Buenos Ayres, and Mexico. Our commercial relations with all those states are mutually beneficial and increasing. With the republic of Colombia, a treaty of commerce has been formed, of which a copy is received, and the original daily expected. A negotiation for a like treaty would have been commenced with Buenos Ayres, had it not been prevented by the indisposition and lamented decease of Mr. Rodney, our minister there, and to whose memory the most respectful attention has been shown by the government of that republic. An advantageous alteration in our treaty with Tunis has been obtained by our consular agent residing there, the official documents of which, when received, will be laid before the Senate.

The attention of the government has been drawn with solicitude to other subjects, and particularly to that relating to a state of maritime war, involving the relative right of neutrals and belligerents in such wars. Most of the difficulties which we have experienced, and of the losses which we have sustained, since the establishment of our independence, have proceeded from the unsettled state of those rights, and the extent to which the belligerent claim has been carried against the neutral party. It is impossible to look back on the occurrences of the late wars in Europe, and to behold the disregard which was paid to our rights as a neutral power, and the waste which was made of our commerce by the parties to those wars, by various acts of their respective governments, and under the pretext by each that the other had set the

example, without great mortification and a fixed purpose never to submit to the like in future. An attempt to remove those causes of possible variance, by friendly negotiation, and on just principles, which should be applicable to all parties, could, it was presumed, be viewed by none, other than as a proof of an earnest desire to preserve those relations with every power. In the late war between France and Spain, a crisis occurred, in which it seemed probable that all the controvertible principles involved in such wars might be brought into discussion, and settled to the satisfaction of all parties. Propositions having this object in view have been made to the governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and of other powers, which have been received in a friendly manner by all, but as yet no treaty has been formed with either for its accomplishment. The policy will, it is presumed, be persevered in, and in the hope that it may be successful.

It will always be recollected, that with one of the parties to those wars, and from whom we received those injuries, we sought redress by war. From the other, with whose then reigning government our vessels were seized in port, as well as at sea, and their cargoes confiscated, indemnity has been expected, but has not yet been rendered. It was under the influence of the latter, that our vessels were seized by the governments of Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Naples, and from whom indemnity has been claimed, and is still expected, with the exception of Spain, by whom it has been rendered. With both parties we had abundant cause of war, but we had no alternative but to resist that which was most powerful at sea, and pressed us nearest at home. With this all differences were settled by a treaty founded on conditions fair and honourable to both, and which has been so far executed with perfect good faith. It has been earnestly hoped that the other would, of its own accord, and from a sentiment of justice and conciliation, make to our citizens the indemnity

to which they are entitled, and therefore remove from our relations any just cause of discontent on our side.

It is estimated that the receipts into the treasury during the current year, exclusive of loans, will exceed 18,500,000 dollars, which, with the sum remaining in the treasury at the end of the last year, amounting to 6,463,922*d.* 81*c.*, will after discharging the current disbursements of the year, the interest on the public debt, and upwards of 11,633,911*d.* 52*c.* of the principal, leave a balance of more than 3,000,000 dollars in the treasury on the 1st day of January next.

A larger amount of the debt contracted during the late war, bearing an interest of 6 per cent., becoming redeemable in the course of the ensuing year, than would be discharged by the ordinary revenue, the act of 26th of May authorized a loan of 5,000,000 dollars at 4½ per cent. to meet the same. By this arrangement, an annual saving will accrue to the public of 75,000 dollars.

Under the act of 24th of May last, a loan of 5,000,000 dollars, was authorized, in order to meet the awards under the Florida treaty, which was negotiated at par with the bank of the United States at 4½ per cent., the limit of interest fixed by the act. By this provision the claims of our citizens, who had sustained so great a loss by spoliations, and from whom indemnity had been so long withheld, were promptly paid. For these advances, the public will be amply re-paid, at no distant day, by the sale of the lands in Florida. Of the great advantages resulting from the acquisition of the territory in other respects, too high an estimate cannot be formed.

It is estimated that the receipts into the treasury during the year 1825, will be sufficient to meet the disbursements of the year, including the sum of 10,000,000 dollars which is annually appropriated by the act constituting the sinking fund, for the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt.

The whole amount of the public debt on the first day of

January next, may be estimated at \$5,000,000 dollars, inclusive of 2,500,000 of the loan authorized by the act of the 26th of May last. In this estimate is included a stock of 7,000,000 dollars, issued for the purchase of that amount of the capital stock of the bank of the United States, and which, as the stock of the bank held by the government will at least be fully equal to its reimbursement, ought not to be considered as constituting a part of the public debt. Estimating, then, the whole amount of the public debt at 79,000,000 dollars, and regarding the annual receipts and expenditures of the government, a well-founded hope may be entertained, that, should no unexpected event occur, the whole of the public debt may be discharged in the course of ten years, and the government be left at liberty afterwards to apply such portion of the revenue as may not be necessary for current expenses to such other objects as may be most conducive to the public security and welfare. That the sums applicable to these objects will be very considerable, may be fairly concluded when it is recollected that a large amount of the public revenue has been applied, since the late war, to the construction of the public buildings in this city, to the erection of fortifications along the coast, and of arsenals in different parts of the union ; to the augmentation of the navy ; to the extinguishment of the Indian title to large tracts of fertile territory ; to the acquisition of Florida ; to pensions to revolutionary officers and soldiers ; and to invalids of the late war. On many of these objects the expense will annually be diminished, and at no distant period cease on most of all. On the 1st day of January, 1817, the public debt amounted to 123,491,965*d.* 16*c.* and, notwithstanding, the large sums which have been applied to these objects, it has been reduced since then to 37,446,961*d.* 78*c.* The last of the public debt will be redeemable on the 1st of January, 1835, and while there is the best reason to believe that the resources of the government will be continually adequate to such portion of it as may be

come due in the interval, it is recommended to Congress to seize every opportunity which may present itself to reduce the interest upon every part thereof. The high state of the public credit, and the great abundance of money, are at this time, very favourable to such a result. It must be very gratifying to our fellow-citizens to witness this flourishing state of the public finances, when it is recollected that no burden whatever has been imposed upon them.

The military establishment, in all its branches, in the performance of the various duties assigned to each, justifies the favourable view which was presented of the efficiency of its organization at the last session. All the appropriations have been regularly applied to the objects intended by Congress; and, so far as the disbursements have been made, the accounts have been rendered and settled without loss to the public. The condition of the army itself, as relates to the officers and men, in science and discipline, is highly respectable. The military academy, on which the army essentially rests, and to which it is much indebted for this state of improvement, has attained, in comparison with any other institution of the like kind, a high degree of perfection. Experience, however, has shewn, that the dispersed condition of the corps of artillery is unfavourable to the discipline of that important branch of the military establishment. To remedy this inconvenience, eleven companies have been assembled at the fortifications erected at Old Point Comfort, as a school for artillery instruction; with intention, as they shall be perfected in the various duties of that service, to order them to other posts, and to supply their places with other companies, for instruction in like manner. In this mode, a complete knowledge of the science and duties of this arm will be extended throughout the whole corps of artillery. But to carry this object fully into effect, will require the aid of Congress; to obtain which, the subject is now submitted to your consideration.

Of the progress which has been made in the construction of fortifications for the permanent defence of our maritime frontier, according to the plan decided on, and to the extent of existing appropriations, the report of the secretary of war, which is herewith communicated, will give a detailed account. Their final completion cannot fail to give great additional security to that frontier, and to diminish proportionably the expense of defending it in the event of war.

The provisions in the several acts of Congress of the last session, for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio, of the harbour of Presqu'il : on Lake Erie, and the repair of the Plymouth Beach, are in a course of regular execution ; and there is reason to believe that the appropriation in each instance will be adequate to the object. To carry these improvements fully into effect, the superintendence of them has been assigned to the officers of the corps of engineers.

Under the act of the 30th of April last, authorising the President to cause a survey to be made with the necessary plans and estimates of such roads and canals as he might deem of national importance, in a commercial or military point of view, or for the transportation of the mail, a board has been instituted, consisting of two distinguished officers of the corps of engineers, and a distinguished civil engineer, with assistants, who have been actively employed in carrying into effect the objects of the act. They have carefully examined between the Potomac and the Ohio rivers ; between the latter and the Lake Erie ; between the Alleghany and the Susquehanna ; and the routes between the Delaware and the Rariton, Barnstable, and Buzzard's Bay ; and between Boston harbour and Narraganset Bay. Such portion of the corps of topographical engineers as could be spared from the survey of the coast, has been employed in surveying the very important route between the Potomac and the Ohio. Considerable progress has been made in it, but the survey cannot be

completed until the next season. It is gratifying to add, from the view already taken, that there is good cause to believe that this great national object may be fully accomplished.

It is contemplated to commence early in the next season the execution of the other branch of the act, that which relates to roads, and with the survey of a route from this city, through the southern states, to New Orleans, the importance of which cannot be too highly estimated. All the officers of both the corps of engineers who could be spared from other services have been employed in exploring and surveying the routes for canals. To digest a plan for both objects for the great purposes specified, will require a thorough knowledge of every part of our union, and of the relation of each part to the others, and of all to the seat of the general government. For such a digest, it will be necessary that the information be full, minute and precise. With a view to these important objects, I submit to the consideration of Congress, the propriety of enlarging both the corps of engineers, the military and topographical. It need scarcely be remarked, that the more extensively these corps are engaged in the improvement of their country, in the execution of the powers of Congress, and in aid of the states, in such improvements as lie beyond that limit, when such aid is desired, the happier the effect will be, in many views of which the subject is susceptible. By profiting of their science, the works will always be well executed; and by giving to the officers such employment, our union will derive all the advantage in peace, as well as war, from their talents and services, which they can afford. In this mode, also, the military will be incorporated with the civil, and unfounded and injurious distinctions and prejudices of every kind be done away. To the corps themselves, this service cannot fail to be equally useful—since, by the knowledge they would thus acquire, they would be eminently bet-

ter qualified, in the event of war, for the great purposes for which they were instituted.

Our relations with the Indian tribes within our limits have not been materially changed during the year. The hostile disposition evinced by certain tribes on the Missouri, during the last year, still continues, and has extended in some degree to those on the upper Mississippi, and the upper lakes. Several parties of our citizens have been plundered and murdered by those tribes. In order to establish relations of friendship with them, Congress at their last session made an appropriation for treaties with them, and for the employment of a suitable military escort to accompany and attend the commissioners at the places appointed for the negotiations. This object has not been effected. The season was too far advanced when the appropriation was made, and the distance too great to permit; but measures have been taken, and all the preparations will be completed, to accomplish it at an early period in the next season.

Believing that the hostility of the tribes, particularly on the upper Mississippi, and the Lakes, is, in no small degree, owing to the wars which is carried on between the tribes residing in that quarter, measures have been taken to bring about a general peace among them, which, if successful, will not only tend to the security of our citizens, but be of great advantage to the Indians themselves. With the exception of the tribes referred to, our relations with all the others are on the most friendly footing; and it affords me great satisfaction to add, that they are making steady advances in civilization, and the improvement of their condition. Many of the tribes have already made great progress in the arts of civilized life. This desirable result has been brought about by the humane and preserving policy of the government, and particularly by means of the appropriation for the civilization of the Indians. There have been established, under the provision of this act, thirty-two schools, containing nine hundred

and sixteen scholars, who are well instructed in several branches of literature, and likewise in agriculture and the ordinary arts of life.

Under the appropriation to authorize treaties with the Creek and Quapaw Indians, commissions have been appointed and negotiations are now pending, but the result is not yet known.

For more full information respecting the principle which has been adopted for carrying into effect the act of Congress authorizing surveys, with plans and estimates for canals and roads, and on every other branch of duty incident to the department of war, I refer you to the report of the secretary.

The squadron in the Mediterranean has been maintained in the extent which was proposed in the report of the secretary of the navy of the last year, and has afforded to our commerce the necessary protection in that sea. Apprehending, however, that the unfriendly relations which have existed between Algiers and some of the powers of Europe might be extended to us, it has been thought expedient to augment the force there, and in consequence, the North Carolina, a ship of the line, has been prepared, and will sail in a few days to join it.

The force employed in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the neighbouring seas, for the suppression of piracy, has likewise been preserved essentially in the state in which it was during the last year. A persevering effort has been made for the accomplishment of that object, and much protection has thereby been afforded to our commerce, but still the practice is far from being suppressed. From every view which has been taken of the subject, it is thought that it will be necessary rather to augment than to diminish our force in that quarter. There is reason to believe that the piracies now complained of, are committed by bands of robbers who inhabit that land, and, who, by preserving good intelligence with the

towns, and seizing favourable opportunities, rush forth and fall upon unprotected merchant-vessels, of which they make an easy prey. The pillage thus taken, they carry to their lurking places, and dispose of afterwards at prices tending to seduce the neighbouring population. This combination is understood to be of great extent, and is the more to be deprecated, because the crime of piracy is often attended with the murder of the crews; these robbers knowing, if any survived, their lurking-places would be exposed, and they caught and punished. That this atrocious practice should be carried to such extent, is a cause of equal surprise and regret. It is presumed that it must be attributed to the relaxed and feeble state of the local governments, since it is not doubted, from the high character of the governor of Cuba, who is well known and much respected here, that if he had the power, he would promptly suppress it. Whether those robbers should be pursued on the land, the local authorities be made responsible for these atrocities, or any other measures be resorted to to suppress them, is submitted to the consideration of Congress.

In execution of the laws for the suppression of the slave trade, a vessel has been occasionally sent from that squadron to the coast of Africa, with orders to return thence by the usual track of the slave ships, and to seize any of our vessels which might be engaged in that trade. None have been found, and it is believed that none are thus employed. It is well known, however, that the trade still exists under other flags.

The health of our squadron, while at Thompson's Island, has been much better during the present than it was the last season. Some improvements have been made, and others are contemplated there, which, it is believed, will have a very salutary effect.

On the Pacific our commerce has much increased; and on

that coast, as well as on that sea, the United States have many important interests, which require attention and protection. It is thought that all the considerations which suggested the expediency of placing a squadron on that sea, operate with augmented force, for maintaining it there, at least in equal extent.

For detailed information respecting the state of our maritime force on each sea, the improvement necessary to be made in either, in the organization of the naval establishment generally, and of the laws for its better government, I refer you to the report of the secretary of the navy, which is herewith communicated.

The revenue of the post-office department has received a considerable augmentation in the present year. The current receipts will exceed the expenditures, although the transportation of the mail within the year has been much increased. A report of the post-master-general, which is transmitted, will furnish in detail the necessary information respecting the administration and present state of this department.

In conformity with a resolution of Congress of the last session, an invitation was given to General La Fayette to revisit the United States, with an assurance that a ship of war should attend at any port of France which he might designate, to receive and convey him across the Atlantic, whenever it might be convenient for him to sail. He declined the offer of the public ship from motives of delicacy, but assured me that he had long intended, and would certainly visit our union in the course of the present year. In August last he arrived at New York, where he was received with the warmth of affection and gratitude to which his important and disinterested services and sacrifices in our revolutionary struggle so eminently entitled him. A corresponding sentiment has since been manifested in his favour throughout every portion of our union, and affectionate invitations have been given him to extend his visits to them. To these he has yielded all the

commemoration in his power. At every designated point of rendezvous, the whole population of the neighbouring country has been assembled to greet him; among whom it has excited in a peculiar manner the sensibility of all, to behold the surviving members of our revolutionary contest, civil and military, who had shared with him in the toils and dangers of the war, many of them in a decrepit state. A more interesting spectacle, it is believed, was never witnessed, because none could be founded on purer principles, none proceed from higher or more disinterested motives. That the feelings of those who had fought and bled with him, in a common cause, would have been much excited, was natural. There are, however, circumstances attending these interviews, which pervaded the whole community, and touched the breasts of every age, even the youngest amongst us. There was not an individual present who had not some relative who had partaken those scenes, nor an infant who had not heard the relation of them. But the circumstance which was most sensibly felt was which his presence brought forcibly to the recollection of all, was the great cause in which we were engaged, and the blessings which we have derived from our success in it. The struggle was for independence and liberty, public and personal; and in this we succeeded. The meeting with one who had borne so distinguished a part in that great struggle, and from such lofty and disinterested motives, could not fail to affect profoundly every individual, and of every age. It is natural that we should all take a deep interest in his future welfare, as we do. His high claims on our union are felt, and the sentiment is universal that they should be met in a generous spirit. Under these impressions, I invite your attention to the subject, with a view that, regarding his very important services, losses, and sacrifices, a provision may be made and tendered to him, which shall correspond with the sentiments and be worthy the character of the American people.

In turning our attention to the condition of the civilized

world, in which the United States have always taken a deep interest, it is gratifying to see how large a portion of it is blessed with peace. The only wars which now exist within that limit, are those between Turkey and Greece, in Europe, and between Spain and the new governments, our neighbours, in this hemisphere. In both these wars, the cause of independence, of liberty, and humanity, continues to prevail. The success of Greece, when the relative population of the contending parties is considered, commands our admiration and applause; and that it has had a similar effect with the neighbouring powers, is obvious. The feeling of the whole civilized world is excited in a high degree in their favour. May we not hope that these sentiments, winning on the hearts of their respective governments, may lead to a more decisive result, that they may produce an accord among them, to replace Greece on the ground which she formerly held, and to which her heroic exertions at this day so eminently entitle her?

With respect to the contest to which our neighbours are a party, it is evident that Spain, as a power, is scarcely felt in it. These new states had completely achieved their independence, before it was acknowledged by the United States; and they have since maintained it, with little foreign pressure. The disturbances which have appeared in certain portions of that vast territory have proceeded from internal causes which had their origin in their former governments, and have not yet been thoroughly removed. It is manifest that these causes are daily losing their effect, and that these new states are settling down under governments elective and representative in every branch similar to our own. In this course we ardently wish them to persevere, under a firm conviction that it will promote their happiness. In this their career, however, we have not interfered, believing that every people have a right to institute for themselves the government which in their judgment may suit them best. Our example is before

em, of the good effect of which, being our neighbours, they are competent judges ; and to their judgment we leave it, in the expectation that other powers will pursue the same policy. The deep interest which we take in their independence, which we have acknowledged, and in their enjoyments of all the rights incident thereto, especially in the very important one of instituting their own governments, has been declared, and is known to the world. Separated, as we are, from Europe by the great Atlantic Ocean, we can have no concern in the wars of the European governments, nor in the causes which produce them. The balance of power between them, into whichever scale it may turn, in its various vibrations cannot affect us. It is the interest of the United States to preserve the most friendly relations with every power, and on conditions fair, equal, and applicable to all. But in regard to our neighbours our situation is different. It is impossible for the European governments to interfere in their concerns, especially in those alluded to, which are vital, without affecting us ; indeed, the motive which might induce such interference in the present state of the war between the parties, if a war it may be called, would appear to be equally applicable to us. It is satisfying to know that some of the powers with whom we enjoy a very friendly intercourse, and to whom these views have been communicated, have appeared to acquiesce in them.

The augmentation of our population, with the expansion of our union and increased number of states, have produced effects in certain branches of our system, which merit the attention of Congress. Some of our arrangements, and particularly the judiciary establishment, were made with a view to the original thirteen states only. Since then the United States have acquired a vast extent of territory ; eleven new states have been admitted into the union, and territories have been laid off for three others, which will likewise be admitted at no distant day. An organization of the supreme court, which as-

signs to the judges any portion of the duties which belong to the inferior, requiring their passage over so vast a space, under any distribution of the states that may now be made, if not impracticable in the execution, must render it impossible for them to discharge the duties of either branch with advantages to the union. The duties of the supreme court would be of great importance, if its duties were confined to the ordinary limits of other tribunals; but when it is considered that this court decides, and in the last resort, on all the great questions which arise under our constitution, involving those between the United States, individually, between the states and the United States, and between the latter and foreign powers, too high an estimate of their importance cannot be formed. The great interests of the nation seem to require that the judges of the supreme courts should be exempted from every other duty than those which are incident to that high trust. The organization of the inferior courts would of course, be adapted to circumstances. It is presumed that such a one might be formed as would secure an able and faithful discharge of their duties, and without any material augmentation of expense.

The condition of the Aborigines within our limits, and especially those who are within the limits of any of the states, merits likewise particular attention. Experience has shown, that unless the tribes be civilized, they can never be incorporated into our system in any form whatever. It has likewise shown, that in the regular augmentation of our population, with the extension of our settlements, their situation will become deplorable, if their extinction is not menaced. Some well-digested plan, which will rescue them from such calamity, is due to their rights, to the rights of humanity, and to the honour of the nation. Their civilization is indispensable to their safety, and this can be accomplished only by degrees. The process must commence with the infant state, through whom some effect may be wrought on the parental. Difficul-

of the most serious character present themselves to the attainment of this very desirable result, in the territory on which they now reside. To remove them from it by force, even with a view to their own security and happiness, would be revolting to humanity, and utterly unjustifiable. Between the limits of our present states and territories, and the Rocky Mountain and Mexico, there is a vast territory to which they might be invited, with inducements which might be successful. It is thought, if that territory should be divided into districts, by previous agreement with the tribes residing there, and civil governments be established in each, with schools for every branch of instruction in literature, science, and in the arts of civilized life, that all the tribes now within those limits might gradually be drawn there. The execution of this plan would necessarily be attended with expense, and it is not inconsiderable, but it is doubted whether any other plan could be devised which would be less liable to that objection, or more likely to succeed.

In looking to the interests which the United States have on the Pacific Ocean, and on the western coast of this continent, the propriety of establishing a military post at the mouth of Colombia river, or at some other point in that quarter, within our acknowledged limits, is submitted to the consideration of Congress. Our commerce and fisheries on that coast and along the coast have much increased, and are increasing. It is thought that a military post, to which our ships in war might resort, would afford protection to every interest, and have a tendency to conciliate the tribes to the north-west, with whom our trade is extensive. It is thought, also, that the establishment of such a post, the intercourse between our western states and territories and the Pacific, and our trade with the tribes residing in the interior, on each side of the Rocky Mountain, would be essentially promoted. To carry this object into effect, the appropriation of an adequate sum to authorize the employment of a frigate, with an officer

of the corps of engineers to explore the mouth of the Columbia river, and the coast contiguous thereto, to enable the Executive to make such establishment at the most suitable point, is recommended to Congress.

It is thought that attention is also due to the improvement of this city. The communication between the public buildings, and in various other parts, and the grounds around those buildings, require it. It is presumed also, that the completion of the canal from the Tiber to the eastern branch, would have a very salutary effect. Great exertions have been made, and expenses incurred by the citizens, in improvements of various kinds; but those which are suggested belong exclusively to the government, or are of a nature to require expenditures beyond their resources. The public lots which are still for sale, would, it is not doubted, be more than adequate to these purposes.

From the view above presented, it is manifest that the situation of the United States is in the highest degree prosperous and happy. There is no object which, as a people, we can desire, which we do not possess, or which is not within our reach. Blessed with governments the happiest, the world ever knew, with no distinct orders in society, or divided interests in any portion of the vast territory over which their dominion extends, we have every motive to cling together which can animate a virtuous and enlightened people. The great object is to preserve those blessings, and to hand them down to our latest posterity. Our experience ought to satisfy us that our progress, under the most correct and provident policy, will not be exempt from danger. Our institutions form an important epoch in the history of the civilized world. On their preservation, and in their utmost purity, every thing will depend. Extending, as our interests do, to every part of the inhabited globe, and to every sea, to which our citizens are carried by their industry and enterprise, to which they are invited by the wants of others and have a right to go, we

must either protect them in the enjoyment of their rights, or abandon them, in certain events, to waste and desolation. Our attitude is highly interesting as relates to other powers, and particularly to our southern neighbours. We have duties to perform with respect to all, to which we must be faithful. To every kind of danger we should pay the most vigilant and increasing attention; remove the cause where it may be practicable, and be prepared to meet it when inevitable.

Against foreign danger, the policy of the government seems to be already settled. The events of the late war admonished us to make our maritime frontier impregnable, by a well-digested chain of fortifications, and to give efficient protection to our commerce by augmenting our navy to a certain extent, which has been steadily pursued, and which it is incumbent upon us to complete as soon as circumstances will permit. In the event of war, it is on the maritime frontier that we shall be assailed. It is in that quarter, therefore, that we should be prepared to meet the attack. It is there that our whole force will be called into action to prevent the destruction of our towns, and the desolation and pillage of the interior. To give full effect to this policy, great improvements will be indispensable. Access to those works, by every practicable communication, should be made easy, and in every direction. The intercourse, also, between every part of our union, should be promoted and facilitated by the exercise of those powers which may comport with a faithful regard to the great principles of our constitution. With respect to internal causes, those great principles point out with equal certainty the policy to be pursued. Resting on the people as our governments do, state and national, with well-defined powers, it is of the highest importance that they severally keep within the limits prescribed to them. Fulfilling that sacred duty, it is of equal importance that the movement between them be harmonious, and, in case of any disagreement,

should such ever occur, a calm appeal be made to the people, and that their voice be heard and promptly obeyed. But governments being instituted for the common good, we cannot fail to prosper, while those that made them are attentive to the conduct of their representatives, and control their measures. In the pursuit of these great objects, let a generous spirit, and national views and feelings be indulged; and let every part recollect that, by cherishing that spirit, and improving the condition of the others, in what relates to their welfare, the general interest will not only be promoted, but the local advantages reciprocated by all.

I cannot conclude this communication, the last of the kind which I shall have to make, without recollecting with great sensibility and heartfelt gratitude, the many instances of the public confidence, and the generous support which I have received from my fellow-citizens, in the various trusts with which I have been honoured. Having commenced my service in early youth, and continued it since with few and short intervals, I have witnessed the great difficulties to which our union has been exposed, and admired the virtue and courage with which they were surmounted. From the present prosperous and happy state, I derive a gratification which I cannot express. That these blessings may be preserved and perpetuated, will be the object of my fervent and unceasing prayers to the supreme Ruler of the universe.

JAMES MONROE.

Washington, Dec. 7, 1824.

Speech of the President of the Sovereign Congress of Mexico, to General Vittoria, President of the Supreme Executive Power, in presenting the Constitution to his Most Serene Highness.

At two o'clock in the afternoon (4th October) the Commission left the palace of the Sovereign Congress with a

guard of honour, amid salvoes of artillery, the ringing of bells, and the joyful acclamations of the people. The streets and balconies were crowded in the parts of the city through which they passed to the palace of the supreme executive power. The deputation having arrived in the magnificent saloon where the executive power was waiting them, Senor Vargas, the president of the deputation, pronounced the following discourse:—

Most Serene Sir,—The Constituent Congress of the United States of Mexico has appointed a commission, at the head of which I have the honour to stand, to place in the hands of your Most Serene Highness this fundamental code, which it has just signed and sanctioned, after ten months of uninterrupted labours. In fact, Sir, the representatives of the nation have complied with the principal and the most important part of their mission, by forming this law, which, by uniting in a stable and durable manner the independence and liberty of our country, will for ever secure its happiness. Let despotism fly far from hence at the sight of this code, on which are enrolled the sacred rights of men, and which is about to become the terror of tyrants. Europe has her eye fixed upon us, believing or affecting to believe, that we want the elements which go to the formation of free men ; but these few pages will undeceive them, and convince them that we have virtue to establish with clearness and perspicuity, the institutions most favourable to liberty. This constitution will overwhelm our enemies with confusion, and will secure to us the good opinion of enlightened nations, inclining them to recognize our independence. But your Serene Highness must be proud to-day of the part which you have acted in the execution of this great work—sometimes wielding the sword in the field to protect the foundations of the social edifice, and at other times grasping the staff of civil office, to protect order, and to allow

this edifice to be brought to perfection. The circumstances in which your Most Serene Highness took into your hands the reins of government were the most difficult. A thousand different diverging parties made us tremble at an approaching anarchy—the enemies of our country, eager to impede the formation of its constitution, endeavoured underhand with all their power to disturb its tranquillity; but you, with admirable skill and prudence, re-established peace and quietness, and removed all the obstacles which lay in the way of the formation of a constitutional code. For this, thankful posterity will pronounce your name with a pleasing emotion, and with a feeling of the most lively gratitude.

Vittoria, president of the supreme executive power, replied in the following terms:—

Citizen Representatives,—The supreme executive power receives with the highest pleasure, and the most profound respect, from your hands, the sacred book of the destinies of our country, and congratulates itself along with the Sovereign General Congress on seeing the classic work of its wisdom completed. The individuals of the supreme government who now subscribe with their hands the constitution, are likewise ready to support it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood.

The supreme executive power especially congratulates the commission on being the messenger to announce the completion of their country's happiness. The code of our liberties and of the rights of the great Mexican people shall be published and circulated, with the rapidity of light, over the vast extent of the republic, to serve as a guide, and as the iris of peace and hope to all the children and inhabitants of this great and powerful nation.

Manifesto of the Supreme Executive Power to the Nation.

The republic is about to be governed by one president ; before this memorable event takes place, we are anxious to address ourselves to our countrymen for the last time, and give them an account of our administration.

Recalling the past, and fixing our eyes on the point whence we started, we observe that by degrees our situation is sensibly improved. We shall not be so inconsiderate as to ascribe to ourselves these improvements and advantages. We have been actuated by good intentions ; we have sincerely and zealously desired the happiness of our country ; we have done our utmost to attain it ; but the favourable position in which we are placed must be ascribed principally to the good sense and indulgent character of the nation, to the integrity and wisdom of the Congress, and still more to unforeseen circumstances and events—circumstances and events which show in an ostensible manner that he who governs nations has especially favoured the people of Anahuac.

We received into our arms a republic recently sprung up, at a time in a state truly pitiable—with an exhausted treasury—with a paper money at a discount of 75 per cent., with a want of credit which had reached its height—with resources either remote or difficult—without economy or system in the administration of the public finances—with an army unprovided, unarmed, and undisciplined—with our little navy in want of every thing, incomplete in action, and even nothing in the harbour, before the value of equipping it was paid. On the other hand, without consideration in Europe, without official contact or relation with any one of the nations which compose the world—without alliances with the people on this side of the Atlantic—in addition to this, with powerful and exasperated parties in the interior, with conspiracies succeeding each other every moment, with authorities of the first consequence acting

in an equivocal or hostile manner, with the first Congress opposed by public opinion on account of the *convocatoria*, with a part of the provinces anticipating a movement which was to be legal, uniform, and simultaneous, with marked symptoms of a dangerous dissolution on some points—in fine, with order scandalously subverted in the very seat of the supreme power, with a capital in the hands of a faction, and the government seeking an asylum in the bosom of the Congress. Such, fellow-citizens, is the heap of frightful ruins and dangerous precipices through which we have passed, in a few months, to reach the point at which we have now arrived.

It must be confessed that this picture is neither flattering nor very satisfactory; but for the glory of the Mexican nation, for the confusion of the tyrants who delight in our disorders, and for the instruction of nations, who, without prejudice or partiality, observe our progress; what country in the world has disorder visited on a less cruel, fatal, or disastrous fall? In what nation of the earth have the appearances and changes which have been realized in our country within so short a period, not produced the same fatal results? Even in the memorable days of the 24th, 25th, and 26th of January of the present year, which our enemies in Europe so much endeavoured to emblazon for our discredit, did any blood flow? Was not the property of our fellow-citizens respected? Is it not certain that even the common disorders of populous cities disappeared on those nights? Let, therefore, the injustice and the slander cease of those, who, on the other side of the Atlantic, calumniate, because they cannot devour us.

But that which ought to discourage the malignity, and to make them lose the hope of enslaving us a second time, is the consideration of our progress, and the view of the contrast which exists between our situation eighteen months ago, and our situation at present. Our credit has perceptibly recovered, our paper money is at par, and almost all redeemed—the civil debt is satisfied—part of the loan which had been autho-

d by the government has been contracted for, and the remainder has been lately stipulated for on much more favourable terms. As for our defence, means have been taken to create an armament of great amount, while in the mean time our veterans are clothed and armed, discipline established, and the mass of officers considerably reduced. At the same time, our artillery is sufficient for all our wants, and the active militia is organizing with zeal. In this manner, within a short time, the army of the republic, already respectable for the number and excellence of its troops, will be put in a state of being us the enjoyment of complete security, and freeing us from any fear as to attacks or insults from abroad.

As to our rising navy, the expenses of constructing small vessels which previously existed have been paid; and of those which have been newly built, part are in continual action; and according to the arrangements lately adopted by the government, it is to be hoped that in a short time the American flag will wave and make itself respected along the coast of the Atlantic. On the other hand, the territory and power of the republic have been increased by the addition of the province of Chiapa, which, having freely and joyfully pronounced itself in favour of our federation, now composes one of our states; and this event, auspicious and memorable for the civil order, is more so in a moral point of view, from the justice, disinterestedness, and the dignity with which the negotiation was conducted.

As to our foreign relations with other powers, treaties of the greatest importance have been formed with the warlike republic of Colombia. The government of the United States to the north, which had already acknowledged our independence, has lately appointed a minister to reside with us; while in the mean time its consuls are in our capital and in our ports, to the full exercise of the functions and powers which belong to them. The same has been realized with the agents of that power as from the King of Great Britain; and from the frank,

kind, and friendly conduct of that nation towards the Mexicans, we may hope that within a short time the independence of the nation of Anahuac will be recognized by the mistress of the seas. On our part, we have sent a minister with full powers to the government of his Britannic Majesty, of whose arrival in London we have just been informed; and from the course of things, and the order with which events are coming to pass, it may be hoped that the object of his mission will be completely fulfilled. Our embassy to the United States of America has already set out for its destination; a minister likewise has been appointed to represent us at the republic of Colombia. An agent has also been nominated to proceed to Rome, to conduct ecclesiastical negotiations; and another has been appointed to the United States of Central America, whose independence has been recognized within these few days. And here we would desire for our own good, and for that of Spain herself, to be able to announce that we had entered into negotiations with that nation. We had indeed hopes of that kind during the existence of the former government; but the restoration of Ferdinand VII. to the exercise of absolute power, his decrees relative to us, and his contests with the power which has endeavoured to mediate on this subject, paralyze for the moment all means of conciliation, and only allow reason to expect on his part a system of hostilities and bad treatment, which we neither have provoked nor deserved.

But returning to our interior: in the midst of the dangers which surround the executive power, its principal object was the installation of the present Congress, which happily could meet without danger; the constituent act was formed—the republic peacefully and gradually acquired the federative form—the tempestuous clouds which appeared towards the west and the south were dissipated—conspiracies were timely discovered and put down—the fire of civil war was extinguished on the 19th of July—the constitution destined to direct the federal union has been finally concluded, and solemnly

actioned : in short, every thing has assumed a favourable aspect, and the republic is now in a condition to receive the impulse destined to push it onwards to aggrandizement and elevation.

Such is our actual position. What more could be asked of a people in its infancy, and in a state of apprenticeship and inexperience ? Have those nations done more which accuse us of being unfit for constitutional liberty ? There may be in our vicissitudes modifications and changes, from which even robust and consolidated powers are not always free. But does not this basis of benevolence and caution—this fund of kindness and good understanding—this force of privileged instinct with which the nation is advancing to save and form itself, afford a guarantee that patriotism will always dwell among us ; and that, finally, the work of our establishment and consolidation will be consummated.

Fellow countrymen !—You may judge of what the Mexican people are capable from what they have already achieved. It is true, that some zealous and well-intentioned men desire to see us on a par with adult nations, and that they even are ejected because we have not arrived at that point ; but this desire is unreasonable—the accomplishment of it is impossible ; for the elevation of nations can only be the work of time, long with good institutions.

Let us not, therefore, exaggerate evils, which, if they exist, are inevitable in our situation. Let us be penetrated with the feeling of our own sufficiency, and be convinced that we shall finally accomplish our enterprise, as we have already surmounted the most difficult and painful portion of it. The steps which we have to take are few ; the sacrifices which remain to be made are small. Let us, therefore, not lose the good which we almost have in our hands, nor, on the eve of attaining the summit of our wishes, let us render ourselves unworthy of triumph and happiness.

r us, who, being elevated to the highest posts of
dic, have administered to the state in rude and dif-
—who have never treated with the enemies of our
—who, in obedience to the voice of that country, have
ed our command, and who have never abused the
of our power, or the extraordinary resources with
e Congress had intrusted us—do not so many titles
he right of claiming at these last moments the indul-
the Mexican people, to fix their attention on their
r and valuable interests?

w countrymen!—Let us never forget that a govern-
not exist without subordination—that economy and
the soul of the federal union, and that without union
infallibly lose our own independence. If we are
whatever be the reforms and modifications which cir-
es may introduce amongst us, we shall still be able
t, independent, and happy. But if, unfortunately,
ee, we shall be the laughing stock of nations, the ex-
of our brothers and neighbours, and (what ought to
shudder still more) we shall be the prey of our an-
ters, who will come to bind us with heavier chains—
come to insult our misfortunes with redoubled pride
ased malignity. Let, therefore, this image never
from our minds. Let us shut up all the avenues
d, and prevent a state of things so insupportable to
. Let us not deceive ourselves. There is no state
ederation which can exist independent of itself.
attempts that disorder is the most perfidious enemy
untry, and the result would be general disorganiza-
l that moment we should have impotence and pro-
and the end would be ruin and slavery. Let us never
a conservative principle of the republic and its well-
eat, united, Mexico can do every thing, but divided,
thing, and have no power; liberty is destroyed, and
ry disappears.

Although we have not the glory of leaving the nation so flourishing and so consolidated as we would desire, yet we have the satisfaction to think that it is maintained in a state of energy and strength, and that it has reached this state by itself, requiring nothing on our part but good intentions. But now, while power and authority are centered in one, a new career opens for its good, and it must rapidly march towards prosperity and splendour. In descending at last from the high post to which the will of the nation advanced us, we are occupied by no other idea, we are agitated by no other sentiment, than that of the public felicity. The high and estimable kindness by which we have been distinguished, imposes upon us the sweet obligation of being the foremost of the most ardent patriots. We shall do our utmost to fulfil this duty; we shall employ ourselves in the service of our country, without avoiding sacrifices; and if we are allowed to enjoy private life, we shall endeavour to make our retirement useful by the examples which we shall afford of respect and attachment to authority—of obedience and submission to the law.

Let us, therefore, prepare the happiness of future generations. May our country improve and attain elevation and grandizement in all senses. May our fellow citizens be happy, and may this rich, fertile, and delicious land, in which we first saw the light, be great among the nations, celebrated by some and feared by others, as the land of liberty, the school of morals, the refuge of the good, the rock of ambition, and the grave of tyrants.

(Signed)

GUADALUPE VITTORIA, President.

NICHOLAS BRAVO.

MIGUEL DOMINGUEZ.

Mexico, Oct. 5, 1824.

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

Port-au-Prince, Oct. 6, 1824.

(CIRCULAR.)

John P. Boyer, President of Hayti, to the Commandants of the Departments.

The Envoys, who, upon the request that was made to me, I sent to treat in France of the recognition of the independence of Hayti, have returned. Their mission has not resulted in the manner we had a right to expect it would, because the French government, incredible as it may appear, still pretends to the chimerical right of sovereignty over this country. This pretension, which it appeared to have renounced, is for ever inadmissible. It is a new proof of what I have before declared, that our only safety is in our own unshaken resolutions, and how well founded were the apprehensions which induced the measures I have adopted. Under these circumstances it becomes you more than ever to refer to the directions of my proclamation of the 6th January last, and the private instructions which have followed it. Press with activity all the necessary works; put in good order the artillery and munitions of every kind. Let nothing be neglected. Put in requisition the workmen of the army, and even if it be necessary, private individuals, to have in readiness the gun carriages which are yet unfinished. Do every thing in such a manner, that in case of invasion by the enemy, you may not be retarded in any one point. Remember your duties, your responsibility, and act accordingly. The national honour demands, (you will not lose sight of this) that safety and quiet be assured to those strangers, who, upon the public faith, guaranteed by the constitution, may be residing in this country. Protect them and their property, so that they may be in the most perfect security. It will be a sufficient reflection to be sensible of the infamy which will be thrown upon

nation, if, under any circumstances, we shall act otherwise. Destroy the implacable enemies who shall place their crilegious feet upon our territory, but let us never disgrace our cause by a dishonourable action. In sending deputies to arrange the forms of recognition of our independence, I yielded to the requests made to me by the agents of the government of the king of France. It was necessary to perform this act, to take from malevolence every pretext for taxing me with obstinacy. It was necessary to do it, for my own peace of mind, and in fact to fix the opinion of the nation upon this important point. I believe in this respect, that I have performed my duty ; but I have the satisfaction of declaring that I have not been deceived.

The republic is free, it is for ever independent, since we are determined to bury ourselves under its ruins rather than submit to a stranger. In the meanwhile the enemies of Hayti rashly count upon divisions among us. What folly, and at the same time what duplicity ! Let us be eternally united. Faithful to our duties, we shall be, with the assistance of the Almighty, for ever invincible.

BOYER.

Proclamation of President Boyer to the Haytians.

JEAN PIERRE BOYER, President of Hayti :

All nations have had their revolutions, glorious or pernicious according to the causes which have given rise to them. Some have derived their splendour from such political shocks ; others have been shaken, and have fallen into decay. These, too corrupt to preserve the national energy unimpaired in the midst of storms, have sold their liberty, and have crouched beneath a disgraceful servitude ; those, on the contrary, arming themselves with a noble resolution, have shaken off the foreign yoke and rendered themselves independent. It is in the rank of the latter that it has pleased Divine Providence to place us.

We will constantly employ all our efforts to justify in the eyes of the world the unequivocal signs of the Supreme will.

Having issued victorious from the struggle in which they were engaged by the necessity of regaining their inalienable rights, the Haytian nation, enlightened by experience, had no other ambition than to found the bases of their government upon institutions similar to those which had entitled a celebrated people to the suffrage of the universe. From that time they perceived that to reach the height of their destiny, it was necessary to carry agriculture to a flourishing state, to hasten civilization, and invite commerce into their ports. All the nations who desired to establish a reciprocity of trade with our republic were, therefore, admitted and protected. France herself was no sooner reconciled to Europe, whose fleets no longer shut the seas against her, than she sought the means of participating in the advantages of these relations. Too just to impute to a monarch who had just re-ascended the throne of his ancestors, the wrongs of an aggression anterior to his government, we received the commerce of that power, but under a masked flag. This form of admission was necessary for the national security.

Such was the situation of Hayti, when towards the end of October, 1814, General Dauxion Lavaysse, furnished with instructions by M. Malonet, minister of his Most Christian Majesty for the marine department, landed at this port. His propositions were as ridiculous as the object of his overture was treacherous. They were rejected, and the nation held themselves upon their guard. It is true that his Most Christian Majesty disavowed the mission of that agent; but we were then permitted to consider as authentic powers invested with the signature of a minister who would not dare to deny it. General Dauxion returned to Jamaica in the early part of December.

Two years after, and at the very time when Hayti was occupied in revising the fundamental act of her regeneration,

second deputation arrived on board the French frigate *La Véra*, which, although emanating directly from his Most Christian Majesty, had no better success, because the pretensions had not been changed.

Notwithstanding these attempts, well calculated to awaken the distrust of the people upon the projects of a cabinet who persisted in seeking to make them retrograde towards slavery, the French commerce continued, nevertheless, to carry on, with the most perfect security, its transactions with Hayti.

The correspondence to which the two missions just mentioned gave rise, having been published by my predecessor; shall not enlarge further upon this first epoch of the diplomatic overtures of France with the government of the republic. It now remains for me to make known the details of the negotiations, of which it was believed possible to renew the thread with me. To these I shall annex the official papers relating thereto.

The re-union of the northern part to the republic gave birth to fresh propositions which M. Aubert du Petit Thouars was charged to bear to me on the part of the counsellor of state, Esmangart, who, at the time of the mission of the Viscount de Fontanges, in 1816, of which he formed a part, acquired, by the manifestation of liberal principles here, the esteem of the Haytian government. M. Aubert announced to me that his Majesty Louis XVIII. had decided to consecrate our independence, and confined himself to claim the right of lord paramount, with indemnities for the cession of the territory and property.

My answer was positive; and whilst I repulsed even the very shadow of a protectorate, I consented to revive, as the only way that could lead to a definitive treaty, the offer of a reasonably calculated indemnity, which my predecessor had made to General Dauxion, and which the Viscount de Fontanges had discarded. This offer, on my part, remained in oblivion, notwithstanding that M. Aubert had given me the

assurance that nothing was waited for to finish it, except the knowledge of my determination.

It should be remarked, that every event which increased the prosperity of the republic, was shortly after followed by the sending of some agent, whose mission was ever rendered abortive by the retractions of the French cabinet.

Scarcely had the inhabitants of the eastern part expressed their firm desire to form with us, in future, but a single and same nation, and had realized the requirements of the constitution, when M. Liot presented himself to me, with confidential notes from the Marquis de Clermont Tonnerre, minister of the marine. The object of these notes was to induce me to make a becoming overture. His government, he said, having already made the first advances in vain, was desirous that I should take the initiative in my turn.

I had not forgotten that the mission of General Dauxion, which was altogether as ministerial as that of M. Liot, had been formally disavowed. I also knew what to think of the motives of non-success, which served as a pretext for this proposition; but, being desirous of affording a fresh proof of my conciliatory disposition, and thinking that it would be agreeable to him who solicited this negotiation, that it should be carried on with secrecy, I believed that it could not then be placed in more suitable hands than in those of General Boye, who had been here for some time.

This general, who justly possesses my esteem and confidence, set out in the month of May, 1823, invested with my full powers, to accomplish the conclusion of a commercial treaty, founded upon the recognition of the independence of Hayti. It is surprising, that the negotiator appointed by the Marquis de Clermont Tonnerre to confer with him, had not a sufficient latitude given to him to accept my propositions, since, after all that had been in agitation since 1814, the French cabinet ought to have been fixed, both upon our determination, and upon the demands with which France could

e that we should comply. However it might be, this negotiation, which the ministers had urged with their utmost desires, miscarried (will it be believed?) from a chicanery upon the nature and mode of the indemnity proposed by General Frey.

M. Esmangart, in his letters dated August 27, and October 26, 1823, expressed to me how deeply he regretted that mission with which General Boye was charged had not succeeded. He attributed the cause of it to the choice of my agent, and the difference which he found between the propositions made to him by me on the 10th of May, 1821; and those which Gen. Boye presented to him. Nevertheless, notwithstanding of being able to bring to an end an affair which he had so much at heart, he urged me to send another agent, who, in his situation, was not indifferent to the results of the negotiation, and who should be the bearer of my first propositions; assuring me, that then the king's government, who had asked for nothing except just and moderate conditions, would, in short, as I myself had desired, would ever be disposed to treat upon these bases—bases which, he admitted, had been long unacceptable, and which, according to him, would annihilate all pretensions; and which, unquestionably, he was authorized to further in the interval that elapsed between the dispatch of May 10, 1821, and the day of his conference with General Boye, at Brussels, in August, 1823.

to these two letters of M. Esmangart, a third soon succeeded which he addressed to me on the 8th of November, 1823, to announce M. Laujon as the possessor of his entire confidence, and to express to me his ardent desire shortly to cooperate in the conclusion of the treaty which was to put an end to all the uncertainties. In effect, M. Laujon landed at Pau-Princee a few days after my proclamation of the 6th January last, and presented to me a note in the form of invitation. After having stated in this note, that it had not

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been in his power to prevent the rupture of the negotiation at Brussels, M. Esmangart added that he had pleasure in believing that I would return to the disposition which I had announced to him in the dispatch which M. Aubert had been charged to deliver to him. In support of this assertion, M. Laujon made endeavours to induce me to send an agent to France, affirming that the king's government rendered dependent upon this step the formality of the recognition of the independence of Hayti, after the bases of the 10th of May, 1821.

So much perseverance on the part of M. Esmangart, in pursuing the accomplishment of this great work, determined me to reply to his last letter by my dispatch of the 4th February, 1824, informing him that, yielding to the desire of his government, I was about to that effect to send to France a mission with the powers necessary. In consequence, on the 1st May last, the citizens Larose, senator, and Rouanez, notary of the government, embarked on board the commercial brig the *Julius Thales*, furnished with my letter of credence, dated the 26th April, 1824, and with my instructions of the same date, which could leave no doubt upon the clauses of the treaty which they were charged to conclude, and upon the indispensable formality of the recognition, by a royal ordonnance, of our absolute independence of all foreign domination of the authority of a lord paramount, and even of the protectorate of any power whatever; in a word, of the independence which we have enjoyed for twenty years.

I did not hesitate to consider it my duty to congratulate myself upon having sent off the citizens Larose and Rouanez, since they had not then reached their destination, upon receiving successively, by different vessels, a dozen letters, in which Messrs. Esmangart and Laujon expressed their impatience on account of the delay of the person who was to be the bearer of my propositions. But by an inconceivable fatality, which always turns aside the French administration from

approximation which it ever appears so desirous to effect it by a system of tergiversation which prevents it, at the point of concluding, admitting the proposition already admitted, or which leads it to re-produce the pretensions which it abandoned, to create for itself an opportunity of alleging insufficiency of the powers of my agents, the mission of citizens Larose and Rouanez remained, like the preceding without result. They therefore found themselves under necessity of demanding their passports to return to the Republic, where they arrived on the 4th inst.

Their conduct answered my expectation. It will also ennoble them, I have no doubt, to the national approbation. The report which they rendered to me will be annexed to the newspapers which I have mentioned.

I have just made known the facts, and I surrender them to the tribunal of public opinion. Hayti will have it in her power to judge whether her chief magistrate has justified the confidence placed in him, and the world, on which side was good faith. I shall confine myself to declare, that the Haytians will never deviate from their glorious resolution, but await with firmness for the issue of events. And, if ever they should find themselves called upon to repel an unjust invasion, the universe will again witness their enthusiasm and energy in the defence of the national independence.

BOYER.

Palace of Port-au-Prince, October 18, 1824,
the 21st year of the independence of Hayti.

The American Monitor.

We said in the first No. of the American Monitor—

“As to England, her policy can no longer be doubtful. These are not times when a minister, overruled by somewhat superstitious respect for those rights claimed by Spain over America, requested of the House of Commons, permission to prohibit English trade from favouring, (with those means at its disposal) the emancipation of the new South American states. At present, a more enlightened, free, and liberal policy, founded on a deep knowledge of public interest, has replaced those frigid calculations and false combinations of a narrow-minded policy, which, for too long a period, sacrificed the general interests of England to private interests. Besides, the situation of Great Britain with regard to the continent of Europe, is sufficient to cement her alliance with America. Formidable as she is on that element, where she can, with impunity, be great and free, all the European cabinets have not as yet been able to entice her into their own retrogressive course of proceedings. But, indeed, England cannot exist without allies, and since the policy of the continental monarchies becomes daily more diametrically opposite to the spirit, and perhaps to the very existence of the British constitution, it is doubly incumbent on her to form a system of alliance with the New World, towards which she is irresistibly attracted by her geographical situation, the nature of her political institutions, and the interests of her commerce.”*

These are the terms in which, four months ago, we predicted the public and solemn abjuration which

* American Monitor, No 1, Page 32.

the recognition of the states of South America by Great Britain has just given, in the face of the world, to the detestable principles of the Holy Alliance. The British cabinet which was led by the obscure policy of the minister lately at the head of affairs, to adopt, for a moment, the line of conduct traced out by the European powers, has just quitted it with honor, and, placing itself at the head of progressive civilization, it presents a threatening front to those who endeavour to throw back mankind in the career of improvement.

The minister who assumed the reins of government, after the tragical death of Lord Castlereagh, and who had not, like him, been seated at the banquets of kings, has just destroyed the acts of the Congress by a single effort, and restored the politics of England to their national character. Mr. Canning has consulted the interests of his country: he has rejected principles which tarnish the crown of its kings, and vitiate, in their sources, the power and the institutions which have alone constituted its strength and contributed to its greatness.

This minister resigns to the diplomatists of Vienna, Aix-la-Chapelle, Carlsbad, Laybach and Verona, the advantages of the old prohibitive system, with all its train of prejudices contemned by reason and worn out by time; he increases the wealth of his country by means of all the resources which their blindness disdains, and aggrandizes its power with all the strength which their imbecile vanity relinquishes; in short, by acknowledging the independence of the Spanish colonies, in opposition to the pretensions and clamours which have been vainly opposed to its progress, the

British government has proved to the world that it is not disposed to sacrifice the interests of the country to theories, nor to isolate itself from the people by yielding to the influence of terrors which affect neither the existence nor the prosperity of the nation.

It cannot, however, be denied, that an event of such magnitude is calculated to produce a powerful effect in Europe, and to change the existing relations between England and the continental powers. Already the organs of the Holy Alliance threaten England with terrible reprisals on the approaching rebellion in Ireland, and in that of the Indies, which they represent as ready to rise against her authority; already the trumpet of the French ministry sounds the alarm of war. But the cabinet of St. James's, having discovered the secret of its security in the accordance of its politics with the interests of all classes of the people, and with the open and unanimous expression of public opinion, sets at defiance the storms that may be rising against it, proves that its resolution is irrevocable, that it is ready to meet all consequences, and that nothing can divert it from the line of policy which it has adopted.

In these momentous circumstances, conjecture is busy in guessing at the result of a general rupture. In our opinion, this great conflict, should it take place, must necessarily produce a crisis more important and more decisive than any that ever affected human society.

The religious reformation which changed the face of Europe, is nothing compared to the political reformation which embraces the two worlds. This mighty change, hitherto arrested in its progress by an acci-

dental resistance originating with England herself, must experience its eventual accomplishment in a war in which it will find arrayed in its favor, not only the physical strength of England united to that of all the New World, but also the moral power which results from the wishes and from the positive wants of all nations.

Let the Holy Alliance attend to this ! Its power contains the seeds of its own dissolution ; for it rests on a system of oppression which will not allow it to engage in hostilities without perilous chances. So long as England really was, or thought she was, interested in suffering the extinction of European liberty, it might be effected with impunity ; but the instant this power openly places itself at the head of the immense opposition created on all sides, by the libercide principles of the European cabinets, it becomes a formidable lever which, according to all appearances, will effect the total overthrow of the Holy Alliance, its theories and its armies. It is the more formidable, because the politics of England, entirely freed from the principles proclaimed at Laybach, Carlsbad, and Verona, is not only congenial to her interests, but even to the essence of her monarchical institutions, the origin of which is diametrically opposed to those of the continental powers.

What connexion, in fact, is there between the legitimacy of the House of Brunswick, called to the throne by the free consent of the nation, and legitimacies which are supported only by genealogical trees ? Does there not, on the contrary, exist more contradiction than affinity between these two monarchical principles ? For, an attempt to place England

in a state of subordination to the schemes of continental policy would be evidently an attempt to replace this country under the domination of the Stuarts, and to induce it to return to that calamitous state of things in which Charles II. and his unhappy brother chose rather to humble themselves before Louis XIV. and to gain the protection of France, than to occupy a constitutional throne, and obtain from their people subsidies freely voted. It is impossible that England should be disposed to destroy her bill of rights and to adopt principles hostile to the very essence of her monarchical character. It is evident, on the contrary, that under the influence of institutions unique in their kind, and placed by nature in the bosom of the ocean, which protects her from foreign subjection, England must be determined in the choice of her allies not by abstract principles, but by motives of interest. These now irresistibly impel her towards the cause of the New World, with which she may ally herself without having any thing to fear.

But, admitting that the recognition of the southern states should compel England to arm against a hostile coalition of some European powers, and reasoning upon this hypothesis, let us enquire on which side would be found the most formidable mass of offensive and defensive resources.

To begin with the irresistible power which governments derive from the disposition of their subjects, it cannot be dissembled that, for some time past, every thing in England has been undergoing a change. A multitude of political observations arising from the measures of the English ministers, during a period of nearly three years, offer themselves to minds the least

able of reflexion; we will mention only a few, which will convey a sufficiently correct idea of the conduct of these ministers, and of the increased power which must result from it. Constantly solicitous for the interests and prosperity of their country, and attentively following the course of events, they have neglected no opportunity of giving an ascendancy to the foreign commerce, and to the influence of Great Britain. At the same time, they have laboured at home to identify themselves with the national feeling and prosperity, they have progressively reduced the public debt, they have extinguished all internal commotions, multiplied the commercial relations of the country, favored popular instruction, improved the financial system, increased public credit, and created, in the very heart of the empire, new means of strength and greatness. In short, it is doubtful whether, at any period of her history, England ever rose to a greater height of prosperity. She is the only power which, at the conclusion of the sanguinary struggle terminated ten years ago, obtained the object for which she so long fought. She is now in a state of peace, and having to apprehend no symptom of rebellion in the bosom of her vast empire, she rapidly extends her influence to the four parts of the world.

On the other hand, England possesses unequalled advantages from her insular situation, by which she is protected against subjugation, and from which, at the first appearance of hostilities, she can attack Europe at every point, without feeling much solicitude for her own safety. Let the autocrats who threaten England cast a look over the map before throwing

down the gauntlet of defiance. In the north she commands Heligoland : she can destroy the trade of Germany at her will. In the Channel, Jersey and Guernsey are stations whence she may attack the coasts of France ; in the Mediterranean, no vessel can navigate without her permission : it is necessary to pass under her cannon, at Gibraltar, Malta, and Corfu. St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope are become important military stations ; from the Cape, she commands the Mosambique ; she possesses the Islands of Tristan and Ascension, the Isle of France, Madagascar, and if we may use the expression, encloses the whole circumference of Africa. In Asia, she reigns over sixty millions of Hindoos. New Holland, New Zealand, Van-diemen's Land, witness the prosperity of her colonies. England already carries on a considerable trade in the Pacific Ocean, and certainly the day is not far distant, when, from this point, she will command all the north west coasts of America, impose at her will any restraint upon the fur trade, and destroy the Russian navy which seems to be increasing on these coasts. In America, the station of Halifax commands the northern Atlantic ; that of Jamaica, the Gulf of Mexico ; the Bermudas form a link between the two stations. Three-fourths of the Antilles are subject to her power ; she is at the gates of the Havanna ; she influences Brasil, Buenos-Ayres, Chili, Peru, and Mexico ; in short, England may be said to encircle the two worlds in the bonds of a moveable and formidable power, by means of which she may, whenever she pleases, not only take from her enemies the colonial settlements which she has hitherto left them, but even attack them on their own shores, in the very heart of their

editary possessions; by attacking them on the south, Portugal, and very soon, without doubt, in the whole Spanish peninsula; and, on the north, in Holland; which cannot detach herself from English policy, together with the states of Brunswick, and the kingdom of Hanover, now sufficiently organized to make a continued and powerful diversion.

In respect to the sinews of war, that is to say, money, it must be considered that the financial system of England would impart to her, now more than ever, tenfold the strength of all the united governments of Europe. France, alone, might for some time sustain the expense of the cause of the Holy Alliance, and be admitted to the honor of supplying the subsidies which, they so long received from Great Britain; but as a French writer said some days ago, "the Spanish war, the loans and indemnifications, have already settled that point."

Besides, a war undertaken for the support of the independence of Spanish America and for the defence of the principles of the British constitution, so intimately connected with that question, would be a war eminently national; it would be in unison with respected laws, with vigorous institutions, with manners favorable to these institutions and laws, and with common interests and common rights.

Now, what are the forces of every description that the Holy Alliance could oppose to this formidable array of the English power, supported by the two Americas? Finances every where incumbered by an enormous mass of prior obligations, and by the maintenance of a military establishment, generally disproportioned to the resources of the respective states,—con-

fers scarcely ever replenished, except by foreign loans, and which would remain empty, as soon as the English capitalists withdrew;—a credit which, founded only upon a state of peace, would vanish at the firing of the first cannon;—armies which would be despised by the people who raised them, and which would fight rather from habit than from patriotism;—laws and institutions every where manifestly in opposition to public opinion;—a population separated from the government and adverse to a contest originating in efforts to annihilate the rights of mankind;—lastly, oppositions, and rivalities even in the coalition of cabinets, which, though unquestionably unanimous in their efforts to destroy every germ of liberty in Europe, would yet bring to the execution of this work of iniquity the difference that characterizes the more or less servile forms of their respective governments.

And it is with such elements that the Holy Alliance would dare to attack the integrity of America, connected in wishes, principles and interests, with the integrity of Britain—Once more let the Holy Alliance, before entering upon the arena, seriously consider the fatal consequences it must expect from such a rupture; let it remove the veil of futurity; for this conjuncture involves not the more or the less, but the whole of its fate. A pillar of clay,—Europe supports it now because it is still standing;—but should it be overturned to-morrow, Europe would tread it under foot, as the fragile monument of a mad and presumptuous pride.

And how could it be otherwise? Is there a single nation subject to the Holy Alliance that has not been cruelly wounded in its dearest interests, disappointed

n the hopes which it had been encouraged to indulge, lespoilèd of its dignity, and sacrificed without mercy o' the thirst of absolute power?—Not one; and, without digressing from the subject which particularly engages our attention, let us, for an instant, advert to the foolish and culpable conduct of the French ministry in respect to the states of South America.

One of the greatest causes of astonishment to every one who attentively follows the course of public affairs, arises from the contracted character of the foreign policy pursued by the French ministers. It might really be said that these pretended statesmen are indulging a profound sleep in their ministerial chairs, and that they are unconscious that, since the last ten years, every thing has changed around them. The commercial situation of nations is entirely altered. New markets are open to French industry; a whole world invites its efforts. America offers the advantages of a mutual exchange with France, and presents to her the inexhaustible treasures of her mines, in return for the productions of arts and manufactures. France, rich in industry and intellectual strength, wants nothing but channels open to the activity of her inhabitants;—and her ministry shuts against her the markets of the New World. She has a vast extent of coast, the safest harbours in the world, all the elements of a maritime power are at her disposal;—and her ministers exclude her flag from the vast territory of the New States that invite her commerce. The exportations of France to South America were immense. Paris and Lyons alone sent freights the value of which it is difficult to calculate. The mere export of objects of luxury and fashion manufactured at Paris, amounted

to the sum of a hundred millions of francs.* The Spanish colonies were naturally attracted to France by a congeniality of tastes and of sympathies;—and her foolish ministry stupidly and gratuitously destroy all these elements of national prosperity without considering that, to meet an expenditure which they are daily increasing, they want the activity of that commerce which they dry up, and which they expect to replace by a mean and scandalous system of loans and stock-jobbing.

And for what do these French ministers thus sacrifice the dignity of the throne, and the dearest interests of a nation of thirty millions of men? Why do they declare themselves the enemies of England and of all the New World? Why do they renounce the advantage of its immense riches? Is it in order to ally themselves with powers whose institutions and manners are in harmony with those of France? No. It is to place themselves in a state of fatal dependence upon a confederation, the avowed principles of which oppose and threaten her own. A constitutional, free and enlightened nation, becomes the militia of a few absolute powers, of a few half barbarous nations, ut-

* The following are the articles of the produce of the soil and industry exported from France to Buenos Ayres, Colombia, Mexico and Peru: wine, brandy, the linens of Bretagne, the threads of Bretagne and Lille, sail cloths, white and printed cottons, cloths of all kinds, merinos, stuffs, the silk goods of Lyons, Nîmes and Avignon, the cotton velvets of Amiens, the ribbons of Paris and St. Etienne, porcelain, painted papers, white paper for printing and writing, books, embroidery, silks, artificial flowers, jewellery, hardware, clocks, watches, &c. &c. &c.

the orders of which she matches to the conquest of slavery and fanaticism.

That France, in 1793, should have allied itself to a Russian autocrat, in order to oppose the introduction of the principles of constitutional policy which now rule the half of the world, and which will soon invade the whole of it; this, to a certain degree, might have been conceived; for, if there was not a perfect similitude, there was at least a conformity of principles between the absolute form of the government of St. Petersburg, and that of Versailles. But, that France in 1825, industrious, commercial, free, and able to attain to the highest degree of power and prosperity, under the constitutional government which she has adopted, should place herself in the train of three powers, who hate her principles, who dread her power, and would willingly destroy it; that she should associate herself with cabinets from which she has nothing to expect, and obviously leagued against her fundamental laws, this, indeed, is an anomaly which nothing can explain, except the incapacity of a minister evidently struck with blindness, and the apathy of a nation which, still destitute of the foresight imparted by the habit of a long continued liberty, carelessly suffers herself to be chained to the Holy Alliance, and exhibits to the astonished world the spectacle of a great people knowingly conspiring against themselves, to support, what? a principle equally at variance with their wants and with the nature of their institutions.

If, after so many wretched errors so disastrous to France, a proof were still wanting of the incapacity of the men who preside over the destinies of that country,

it might be found in the poverty of the arguments by which they seek to escape from the contempt which pursues them. Their system of defence still more forcibly shews the badness of the situation in which they have placed themselves, and proves with the highest degree of evidence that they have neither knowledge of the past, nor foresight of the future; that, in fact, they know nothing of the general policy of Europe. "The French ministry" says a ministerial paper, (*L'étoile*) "are reproached with not having treated with the republic of Hayti; they will perhaps be reproached for not having treated with the despotic government of Turkey for the submission of the Greeks. In fact, they have lost the occasion of enriching European civilization with two novel legitimacies: the legitimate power of the Mahometans to massacre some thousands of Christians, and the legitimate power of the blacks to cut the throats of the whites!"

What wretched reasoning! and whom does M. de Villele pretend to deceive respecting his predilection in favor of the Greeks or Turks?

By what acts, we ask him, has he proved to the world that the religion of Mahomet is less dear to him than that of Christ, and that he does not consider the legitimacy of the Turks as sacred as any other legitimacies? With respect to the legitimacy of the blacks, it is not, certainly, "for having cut the throats of the whites" that it should be acknowledged, but because it is given to them by the nature to which they belong, as well as M. Villele; because it is better to grant with a good will what cannot be withheld, and because it is more advantageous to the whites, who have been ruined by the insurrection of St. Domingo, to receive

positive indemnities, and to France to maintain with this country lucrative commercial relations, than to preserve a vain phantom of sovereignty.

“ We are also reproached with letting England be before-hand in recognizing the independence of certain Spanish colonies in the New World. Alas! we have already paid too dearly for being in haste to recognize the independence of a republic much more powerful, much stronger, more advanced in the conquest of its liberty than the republic of Colombia, of which the traveller Mollien has drawn so sad a picture.”

A person must be deprived of all power of reflection, and destitute of every philosophical idea;—he must, in short, be in a state of the most profound ignorance, to reason in such a manner. If the recognition of the independence of the United States, by France, produced, nearly half a century ago, some re-action upon the political system of this power, this re-action was rather theoretical than active. The first causes, the efficient causes, of the French revolution were the abuses of every kind which sprung up in her institutions; it was the entire opposition which existed between the laws and the moral, social and political character of the immense majority of the French; it was the system of privileges which made government places and the public money the legal property of a certain class; it was the disorganization of all the elements of the political body which public opinion had been gradually destroying for near two centuries, and which the slightest shock was capable of dissolving; it was in

short, the decay of institutions which authorized every abuse, every injustice, every immorality, and which degraded the people in their own opinion. The origin of the French revolution was, then, inherent in the nature of the social condition of the country. To seek for it elsewhere, to attribute it to theories or to the example of a distant nation, is to have seen this great event without having studied it; it is to take accidents for principles, and occasions for causes. As to the disorders and crimes which accompanied the French revolution, it is to the continued oppression under which the nation had so long groaned, it is to its violent and restless character, it is to a mad opposition, it is, in short, to causes entirely national that they must be attributed, and not to the example of the revolution of the United States of America, which of all revolutions is, certainly, that in which order and humanity had the fewest evils to deplore.

It is equally false, relatively speaking, that the United States were, at the period when France recognized their independence, "much stronger and more advanced in the conquest of their liberty than the republic of Colombia." This assertion does not merit even to be noticed, for no one is so ignorant, except the ministerial French writers, as to compare the power with which England, fifty years ago, combated her revolted colonies, to the wretched impotence of the monarchy of Ferdinand.

As to the internal organization of Colombia, it is superfluous to say, that the comparison of the hireling writer, founded on the report of an obscure traveller, is not less erroneous than his other reasonings.

will, certainly, be considered more eligible to refer, on this subject, to the discernment of the British government than to the calumnies of a few spies of the Holy Alliance.

“ Thus, then, at the very moment when we have given liberty to Spain, we are desired to despoil her of her colonies. We, who have succoured her in Europe, are to combat her in America.” If the most disgraceful bondage, if the most frightful anarchy, if the prevalence of every crime, if the most imminent danger to the dissolution of the whole fabric of society are the characteristics of liberty, then, Spain owes to the French ministry the benefit of that which it enjoys. As to the alledged alternative that France would be obliged to combat in America the nation which she has succoured in Europe, it is not less ridiculous and absurd ; for to recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies is not to conclude with them a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance ; it is not to deny Spain the right of re-conquering them, if she can ; it is only to acknowledge a fact, and to choose a situation favourable to neutrality and to all the chances of future vicissitudes, without any exclusive adherence to the cause of either of the belligerent parties, whilst it is to themselves.

“ One alternative is the policy of an insular and commercial state—the other, the policy of a continental military state ; here, therefore, the policy of one is interest, that of the other is honor and loyalty, and, on this occasion, we may exclaim—Perish the colonies rather than the honor of a nation.” These are, at least, opinions which are less vulgar than that of Mr. Canning, who,

in his plebeian ignorance, had the boldness to assert, at Bristol, that "commerce is the bond of civilization, and the active spring that gives impulse to the power of nations." There is really something very chivalrous in the Don Quixote sentiment of M. de Villele, who, with one stroke of his pen, brings back the French nation to the traditional system of feudal policy. But his Excellency has unfortunately forgotten that every revolution in society brings in its train a great political revolution. Now, since the period when Colbert created a commercial marine which awoke and encouraged a spirit of industry; since the period when this great man established a system of finance which gave to Louis XIV. powerful means of government, enabled him to carry on war against all Europe, and excited in all classes of the state a general emulation; since that period, intimate relations have been established between the maritime commercial interests and the continental commercial interests; between general and national commerce; between national commerce and the public power. Since the middle of the last century, particularly, the empire of the commercial system has progressively obtained the ascendancy in every political measure, and it is not necessary to add, that all modifications of whatever nature, connected with this system, have never failed to affect, either beneficially, or otherwise the public power and wealth.

To constitute France a purely military state, and to exclude her from the political combinations of commercial nations, is, at the same time a gross mistake as to the geographical position of the country, and an attempt forcibly to bring her back to the relative situa-

on in which she was placed in respect to the other powers of Europe, even before the treaty of Westphalia.

The French ministers appear to forget that subsequently to the time of this memorable treaty, which in the middle of the seventeenth century, established the inter-national law of modern times, that the beginning of a period of changes in manners, in laws and opinions, must be dated, and that these changes overthrew the relations previously existing between one people and another. They are equally ignorant that, since this period, the prodigious increase of the colonial and maritime system, in the four quarters of the world, has not permitted France to confine herself to an agricultural and military system; they appear, in short, not to know that, the formation of a new empire in the north of Europe, and the elevation of Prussia to its present rank, have changed the principles of ancient law and destroyed the equilibrium of the general pre-existent interests. The policy of France, far from still admitting the useless influence of protection and of federation, requires that she should rather assume a defensive attitude towards the north of Europe which menaces her, and that she should improve as much as possible, her commercial and maritime system which alone can supply her with resources of the necessity for which her present pretended allies will soon, perhaps, make her sensible. "Here, therefore, the policy of one, is interest; the policy of the other, honor and loyalty." It is true; but the world, and above all, posterity, will decide whether honor and loyalty be on the side of cabinets, which,

supported by cunning, intrigue, and a tortuous diplomacy, use shameful efforts eternally to mislead the people by deceptive policy, and to shed the blood of their subjects in quarrels in which they have no interest; or whether this honor and this loyalty be the characteristics of a national government, founded on the general interest, which considers not liberty as an empty principle,; and which, convinced that "the world is extensive enough for all its inhabitants, that it is a field open to the intelligence and activity of all mankind"*—is ready resolutely to arm itself to combat, if necessary, the political ambition, or the errors of the old systems that still militate against the deliverance of America.

B. SA

* The words of Mr. Canning.

**FRENCH ESPIONAGE IN SOUTH AMERICA.—
THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THE HAYTIAN
GOVERNMENT.**

Every day discloses some new intrigue of the French government against the liberty of nations, and especially against the independence of the New World. Nothing more clearly shews, its Machiavelian principles than the secret springs it is continually setting in motion to obstruct the progress and impede the accomplishment of this great event. Too much enslaved, and too foolish to throw off all connection with a system which is exploded, and which cannot be received ; too timid and too feeble openly to avow its shameful doctrines, it is by intrigues and dark machinations that it meets the policy of the English government, by whose frankness and fidelity its measures are counteracted.

For the last two years particularly, the deceptive conduct of the cabinet of the Tuilleries, upon the important question of the American independence must have been a subject of peculiar attention to all who interest themselves in the happiness of nations, and in the cause of humanity. They see, in this cabinet, a restless endeavour to paralyze, by underhand means, the principles which it has neither the courage nor the good faith openly to combat, and which it even sometimes affects to approve ; they also perceive the extraordinary example of a government

which substitutes for diplomacy the most vile system of espionage, and which blushes not to introduce into its foreign relations all the manœuvres of that base police system on which it rests its sole dependence at home.

In order justly to appreciate these intrigues, it is indispensable to refer to a period of some years past. We have before us documents which prove incontrovertibly that in February, 1817, a treaty was concluded between the cabinet of Petersburg and that of Madrid, in virtue of which, the first engaged to exert all its influence to prevent the government of the United States from acknowledging the independence of the Spanish colonies, and was to induce it, if possible, to declare war against them. The conditions were that, if Russia succeeded, Spain should immediately cede to her the islands of Majorca and Minorca, which had for so many years, been the objects of her secret ambition, in order that she might establish herself in the Mediterranean, obstruct there the progress of the English power, and increase the influence already so excessive which she exercises over the destinies of Europe; an influence which this artful cabinet has managed to acquire for the last half century, (during which, the political relations of all Europe have been thrown into a state of confusion and disorder by war), by taking an active part in the affairs of other nations, although its interposition was, in no respect, necessary.* Russia, as a means of inducement,

* The part which Russia took in the seven years war, the history of the campaign of the year 1807 in Italy and in Switzerland, the perseverance with which this empire has, for nearly a hundred years,

went so far as to offer to the United States to relinquish her claims on the north-west coast of America; but not having succeeded in her project of counteracting the policy of these republicans in regard to their brethren of the southern continent, she transferred her attention to France, and, in concert with the Spanish cabinet, she made overtures tending to the same end to the cabinet of the Tuilleries. These overtures were favorably received by the French government, which dispatched instructions to M. Hyde de Neuville, then minister to the United States, to send secret agents into all the Spanish colonies. They were to inform themselves of the dispositions of the inhabitants, and to give a detailed account of the civil and military situation of the states. These emissaries who were sent to Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, received orders to exert their utmost efforts for the re-establishment of the absolute power of Spain, and to direct all their measures to that object alone, for the success of which they were to employ every means and make every sacrifice.

"You will bend yourselves to all circumstances" were the words of the ministerial instructions given to Colonel

trassed Turkey; the fear with which it has continually inspired Denmark, the perpetual dissensions which it has fomented in Sweden, the destruction of Poland, the repeated shocks which it has given to the federal system of Germany, its obstinate interference in the affairs of France and the two peninsulas, its recent alliance with the Low Countries, and many other unequivocal symptoms of the most ungenial ambition, prove that the whole of Europe cannot be sufficiently careful to put itself in a position of vigilance and defence with regard to Russia, if it does not wish to be suddenly overrun by a new tide of barbarians.

Galabert, an agent sent to Mexico, "You will bend to ALL CIRCUMSTANCES for the purpose of sowing division among the parties, and particularly among the military, who, by their disposition to passive obedience, and hierarchical subordination, are more calculated to receive an impulse independent of their own will. The kind of subordinate state in which the civil power has endeavoured to keep the army, since the fall of Iturbide, is a lever which, skilfully used, may produce the most advantageous results. The rivalry between the citizens and the military is a circumstance which must furnish the most powerful means of success."

As to the maps you have taken on the spot and which you have transmitted with your different statements, they shall be dispatched to Madrid as soon as copies of them are taken. That of the gulf of Mexico is finished as well as that which indicates the military points of the Floridas.*

An important subject upon which you have given us but slight information, is the disposition of the Mexican clergy, composed of different orders, and subject to different ecclesiastical supremacies. There must be some rivalries and differences among them upon which it is desirable we should be perfectly informed. Without doubt, the blindest superstition reigns in the midst of the most frightful licentiousness. The people suffer all the consequences of a religious slavery, and the clergy must, of themselves, be sufficiently powerful to effect a revolution; but it is necessary to know those who have influence among the superior clergy, and the temper with which the priests and the monks view the revolution and the separation from Spain."

The instructions given to Mr. Chasseriau, emissary to Colombia, were composed in the same spirit as the extract just read, and contain, also, these words,

* A hint to the United States!!

which so well characterize the policy of the French ministry : " You will neglect no means to obtain the object of your mission ; you must employ, alternately and skilfully, terror, menaces, and bribery, &c." It was, then, in order to support these underhand negotiations, and to provoke the desired insurrection, that the cabinet of the Tuilleries sent the fleet which appeared on the coast of Brasil, in the month of March, 1824, concerning the destination of which Sir James Mackintosh enquired of Mr. Canning in the debate in the House of Commons on the 3d of May following. Our readers may recollect that Mr. Canning replied that some French vessels had, indeed, a rendezvous in those seas, but that he was assured by the French government that there was no reason for viewing with apprehension this armament, since it had no hostile object. In effect, this naval force was not intended to act directly against the Spanish colonies, but merely to give weight to the language of their spies, and to provoke the commencement of a civil war, by the presence of an imposing force ready, in appearance, to assist the disaffected in whatever quarter they might rise. Hence, the industry with which the officers of the French fleet circulated the report of the approaching arrival of a considerable reinforcement of naval and land forces at Brasil. It is needless to say that this stratagem had no other object than to sow the seeds of discord, and to keep up the hopes of the royalist party, till the moment when the Holy Alliance might openly declare in favor of Spain. But all this cunning having failed, in consequence of the active vigilance of the American government, enlightened by the correct and extended foresight of England, a species of bastard

congress was convened at Johannesburg, and it was resolved in this mock council, to attack America by a means not less perfidious; that is to say, to recognize the independence of Mexico, on condition that the crown of this beautiful country should be placed on the head of an infant of Spain; and to this project must be attributed the intended journey of the Infant Francisco de Paplo to Paris. But the cessation of the civil war in Mexico, the peaceable re-organization of the legislative power, the adoption of the constitution of the United States, the continually increasing relations with England, the protection which this power affords to Mexico,—all these things having convinced the Holy Alliance of the impossibility of putting its new plan into execution, France was ordered to attempt the conquest of St. Domingo, in order to re-establish herself and Spain in the possession of this island, whence they might continually act against all the other Spanish colonies. The negotiations relative to this treaty were begun at the Escorial between Mr. M. Zea Bermudez and the French and Russian Chargés d'Affaires, in conferences relative, in appearance, to the occupation of Spain by the French army; we know, however, with certainty, that this secret treaty, in virtue of which, France and Russia are to receive from Spain a compensation in territory, (should the latter, by their co-operation, recover the sovereignty of her colonies,) was ratified at Madrid, on the 3d of December last, and at Paris on the 18th of the same month; and we hope we shall be able to lay before our readers documents which will prove the authenticity of this important fact, to which must be attributed the rupture of the negotiations between

France and the republic of Hayti, evidently undertaken for the sole purpose of lulling to sleep the vigilance of the latter. The considerable augmentation of troops in the French colonies, the attempt of a squadron to enter the Havannah, the recent discovery of some French colonies in that part of St. Domingo formerly belonging to Spain, and many other symptoms, unequivocally prove the existence of a hostile project against Hayti at the first instance, and ultimately against Mexico.

St. Domingo, therefore, must be considered as the strongest intrenchment of the Holy Alliance in its system of attack on the independent states of South America. This island is a military post; a station, whence it is hoped one day, to re-act against the whole southern continent. It would be absurd to consider, under any other point of view, the attempts of France against her ancient colonies, for, viewed in reference to her private interests, not only the attack upon St. Domingo would be vain and ruinous to herself, but even the possession of that island, in its present circumstances, could not compensate France for the immense sacrifices it would cost her. A multitude of considerations suggested by the changes that have taken place during the last thirty years in the colonial system of Europe; and to confirm this double truth; we will confine ourselves to one which, in our opinion, is fatal to those theories and opinions which encourage the vain hope of the re-establishment of this system.

To combat the opinion of economists who maintain that, in general, colonies are ruinous to the mother-country, it is urged that St. Domingo was, in 1789, the centre and moving principle of a commerce of 500,000,000 of francs, two-thirds of which arose

from the exportation of colonial produce; * and it is added, that the revolution of St. Domingo occasioned to France a loss of 60,000,000 of francs, which formed the annual balance of commerce in her favor; a balance which was exclusively due to the colonies. It would be easy to shew the enormous exaggeration of this calculation; but, as it is less necessary here to contend that this advantage has existed, than to prove that it can never be recovered, it will be sufficient to consider the foundation upon which it formerly rested; and, if it be proved that this foundation has been subverted for ever, it will also be proved that the recovery of St. Domingo as a colony, is a perfect chimera. Let us attend to the most zealous advocate for the re-establishment of the French power in this island.

“ It was to the cultivation of sugar and coffee, as well as to slavery, that St. Domingo owed its prosperity. Its existence rested upon these two foundations, the connection between which was more necessary and more intimate than is imagined. But for the sugar cane and the coffee, slavery had been useless at St. Domingo, and without slavery, the advantages arising from these two productions would have been left to France. When, thanks to the wisdom of the wise Dugeron, the warlike, turbulent and wandering spirit of the buccaneers was replaced by the love of order, it was perceived that the climate of the Antilles would consume the European population, and that it would exhaust the mother-country without repaying it by any advantage. Instructed by the accounts of navigators, that slavery existed almost wherever they touched, France imitated the example of the Spaniards,

* Delmas History of the revolution in St. Domingo.

to were already peopling their colonies with negro slaves. . . . Domingo owed to this system the high degree of prosperity to which it arrived; and to its contempt for it, it owes : misery and insignificance into which it has fallen. *

Thus then the *sine quâ non* condition of the prosperity, of the very existence of a French colony at : . . . Domingo, is slavery. Negro slaves must be delivered up to the devouring element of the Antilles for the gratification of the luxurious appetites of Europeans. Without slaves, without this aliment of human flesh, there is nothing left to the European population in the Antilles, but misery and insignificance. Without doubt, the burning sands of Guinea still offer to the French ministry the carcasses and the blood which would be necessary to reconstruct their colonial system. For, it is not probable, that the present generation who inhabit the soil of Hayti, and who, for seventy-five years, have been in possession of liberty, would be disposed again to bend under the iron rod of their ancient executioners. A young nation, just civilized, does not retrograde. To such a nation, liberty is life. Besides, the slave trade, secretly favored by the philanthropy of the French ministry, is a crime punished by the laws of almost every nation, a flagrant violation of the public rights of civilized countries. If some greedy traders still dare, in spite of laws and religion, to pursue this shameful and inhuman traffic, no government whatever, without declaring itself in a state of hostility against the whole of

* Delmas History of the Revolution of St. Domingo.

Christendom, could have recourse to these criminal expectations, for reducing to the condition of a slave-colony, a state which is now flourishing and prosperous. The whole world would protest against such a cruelty, against such a retrograde movement towards barbarism.

An obstacle of this magnitude cannot have escaped the attention of the French government ; but there is another consideration which proves also, as we before observed, that if this government engages in so perilous an expedition, it cannot be for its own peculiar interest, but evidently for that of some despots, confederates in a vast plan of conspiracy against the liberties of the two worlds. If it were otherwise, the French ministry would see that, as the advantageous treaties which England has just concluded with South America, exclude, in fact, the nations who have had the stupidity to conclude none, instead of breaking off the connexion with Hayti, it would have been wise to renew, with this republic, those relations which have so immediate an influence upon the maritime commerce of the western ports of France. And, indeed, what man of the least good sense does not see that, as all direct commerce with South America must be carried on on terms unfavorable to the French merchants, it would be extremely advantageous to them to have a safe station at Hayti whence they might extend their connexions with these countries, since neither Martinique nor Guadaloupe offer anything favorable under this point of view. But no, the French ministry prefer to constitute themselves the very humble servants of the Holy Alliance, rather than

to yield to the exigencies of the most evident and the nearest interests of their country. They chain France to Spain like a living body to a corpse, and make themselves instruments of a policy from which they can reap only danger and reproaches.

We have before us the negotiations which took place between the government of Hayti and the French ministry. This correspondence, very remarkable in every point of view, proves that ability and good faith were entirely on the side of the envoys employed by St. Domingo, whilst inaptitude and duplicity marked, from one end to the other, the conduct of the Parisian diplomatists. Be it as it may, the republic of Hayti is, in fact, independent; it is much more so than any of the states of South America whose independence Great Britain has just recognized. For twenty years, this republic has had a regular government; it has experienced only one feeble attack which was repressed immediately, and all nations, appreciating the importance of the commercial relations which may be established with it, treat it with the greatest respect. It exhibits the singular instance of a nation, without a shilling of debt, refusing the loans offered to it, and having, on the contrary, in its treasury a surplus of 12,000,000 of dollars.

What then is the intention of the French ministry? To subdue, by cunning, men who appear more simple and less familiar than themselves with the Machiavelism of European politics. They are grossly deceived; it is because the character of the Haytians is that of

* See the Section—Historical Documents.

simplicity, because they keep nearer to nature, (to which they belong as well as Mr. Villele), that the primitive notions of what is just and unjust have more power over their understanding; and that the adoption of ministerial sophistry, and subtilty of argument can neither obscure nor pervert their judgment.

Is it really to force that the French ministry will appeal in the case of St. Domingo? but let them reflect, and above all let experience instruct them! The inhabitants of St. Domingo are free men; they have already proved that they know how to die like freemen; they possess, like Great Britain, the advantages of an insular position almost inaccessible; they have within themselves more means of defence than were ever possessed by all the united governments of South America. The army of the republic amounts to sixty thousand effective men, well disciplined, and commanded by experienced officers; it can, at the first signal, send into the field forty thousand men. Its government, which possesses all the vigour of youth, and which is in unison with the manners, laws, institutions, and general interests, possesses also in arms, in artillery, and in ammunition, whatever is necessary to the most protracted defence; its forces, in respect to men and arms, are ten times as great as those that twenty-five ships of war, and a hundred transport vessels could convey to their coasts. Lastly, twenty years ago the republic of Hayti resisted the power of Napoleon, and consumed 100,000,000 of francs and thirty thousand soldiers. Can this lesson have escaped the memory of Mr. de Villele? It appears to us that it should be sometimes present to the mind of a statesman.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

[The Numbers of the "American Monitor," which will be published during the present session of parliament, will contain a correct summary of all the debates and decisions of the two Houses that may directly or indirectly interest America.]

His Majesty's health not permitting him to open the House in person, the speech of the king was read on the 3d of February by the Lord Chancellor, before the two Houses.

This speech is such as might have been expected from the English ministry; it expresses sentiments suited to the new circumstances in which they are placed. Its language is simple and moderate; but his moderation indicates the energy and decision of their determinations; and, at the same time, proves that the British government knows how to appreciate the present state of the continental powers who, by separating their interests from those of the people, have, if the expression may be allowed, disarmed themselves of moral force, and could not make a hostile movement against England, without accelerating their own ruin, and compromising their very existence.

The passage of his Majesty's speech alluding to the South American states unquestionably establishes the most important event of the present era. England confirms by her treaties the commercial relations which exist between her and these states. Now,

as no treaty can be concluded but with independent states, it is evident, that the words of his Majesty are a formal recognition of the independence of the ancient Spanish colonies. This great measure is therefore decided.

As we are persuaded that whatever interests England is of paramount importance to her new allies of South America, we think it proper to insert the whole of his Majesty's speech: it is expressed in these terms:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We are commanded by his Majesty to express to you the gratification which his Majesty derives from the continuance and progressive increase of that public prosperity upon which his Majesty congratulated you at the opening of the last session of parliament.—There never was a period in the history of this country, when all the great interests of the nation were at the same time in so thriving a condition, or when a feeling of content and satisfaction was more widely diffused through all classes of the British people.—It is no small addition to the gratification of his Majesty, that Ireland is participating in the general prosperity. The outrages, for the suppression of which extraordinary powers were confided to his Majesty, have so far ceased, as to warrant the suspension of the exercise of those powers in most of the districts heretofore disturbed.—Industry and commercial enterprise are extending themselves in that part of the United Kingdom. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted, that associations should exist in Ireland, which have adopted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm, and by exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement.—His Majesty relies upon your wisdom to con-

ler, without delay, the means of applying a remedy to this.
id.—His Majesty further recommends the renewal of the
quiries instituted last session into the state of Ireland.—His
ajesty has seen, with regret, the interruption of tranquillity.

India, by the unprovoked aggression and extravagant pre-
ensions of the Burmese government, which rendered hostile
operations against that state unavoidable.—It is, however,
atisfactory to find that none of the other native powers have
anifested any unfriendly disposition, and that the bravery
nd conduct displayed by the forces already employed against
re enemy, afford the most favorable prospect of a successful
ermination of the contest.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ His Majesty has directed us to inform you, that the
stimates of the year will be forthwith laid before you.—The
tate of India, and circumstances connected with other parts
f his Majesty's foreign possessions, will render some aug-
mentation in his military establishments indispensable.—His
Majesty has, however, the sincere gratification of believing,
hat notwithstanding the increase of expense arising out of
his augmentation, such is the flourishing condition and pro-
gressive improvement of the revenue, that it will still be in
your power, without affecting public credit, to give additional
facilities to the national industry, and to make a further re-
duction in the burdens of his people.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ His Majesty commands us to inform you, that his Ma-
jesty continues to receive from his allies, and generally from
all princes and states, assurances of their unabated desire to
maintain and cultivate the relations of peace with his Majesty
and with each other; and that it is his Majesty's constant en-
deavour to preserve the general tranquillity.—The negotiations
which have been so long carried on through his Majesty's
ambassador at Constantinople, between the Emperor of Russia

and the Ottoman Porte, have been brought to an amicable issue.—His Majesty has directed to be laid before you, copies of arrangements which have been entered into with the Kingdoms of Denmark and Hanover, for improving the commercial intercourse between those states and the United Kingdom.—A treaty, having for its object the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade, has been concluded between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, a copy of which treaty (as soon as the ratifications thereof shall have been exchanged) his Majesty has directed to be laid before you.—Some difficulties have arisen with respect to the ratification of the treaty for the same object which was negotiated last year between his Majesty and the United States of America.—These difficulties, however, his Majesty trusts, will not finally impede the conclusion of so beneficial an arrangement.—In conformity with the declarations which have been repeatedly made by his Majesty, his Majesty has taken measures for confirming by treaties the commercial relations already subsisting between this kingdom and those countries of America which appear to have established their separation from Spain.—So soon as these treaties shall be completed, his Majesty will direct copies of them to be laid before you.—His Majesty commands us not to conclude without congratulating you upon the continued improvement in the state of the agricultural interest, the solid foundation of our national prosperity; nor without informing you, that evident advantage has been derived from the relief which you have recently given to commerce by the removal of inconvenient restrictions.—His Majesty recommends to you to persevere (as circumstances may allow) in the removal of similar restrictions; and his Majesty directs us to assure you, that you may rely upon his Majesty's cordial co-operation in fostering and extending that commerce, which, whilst it is, under the blessing of Providence, a main source of strength and power to this country, contributes in no less a degree to the happiness and civilization of mankind."

After the reading of his Majesty's speech, Lord Dudley voted an address to the king: he prefaced it with a speech in which he particularly expatiated on the prosperity of England, which his lordship represented as necessarily resulting from the industry of the people and the improvement of machinery, and as productive of general content; the effect, not of a passive obedience to despotic laws, nor of the violation of credit, or of national bankruptcy, since England regularly pays the interest of a debt much higher than that of any other nation in the world.

The noble lord passed afterwards to the actual state of Europe, and the picture he has drawn of it deserves equally to fix the attention of the two worlds. According to his lordship, there exists, at this moment, a great struggle, not between governments, but between two parties.

There were two great parties—one desiring to restore the ancient order of things, and the other constantly striving for some new order. That party which wished to restore the ancient order of things, were not contented with that order which existed before the revolution, but they wanted something more despotic [hear, hear!], such as had been adopted by mankind in an uncivilized age. This party did not like our constitution; they were vexed with it, and naturally looked on our national institutions as a pregnant and dangerous source of principles they always dread, and of principles they wish to repress [hear, hear!]. The other party were desirous of destroying every thing which existed, and the only remedy they could find for all the evils of mankind, was sweeping away all the institutions which men had long venerated. They were, while they boasted of their attachment to freedom, narrow and illiberal; and however they might differ

among themselves, they were all actuated by a bitter hatred against this country. They were not sincere in their love of liberty of which they talked so much, for they had crouched down before Bonaparte, had worshipped him, and had endeavoured to reduce England to an imperial province. After such endeavours, they now complain that we do not apply the resources we have preserved from their attacks, to support them in their attempts to obtain liberty. But they have no connection with us or our interests; all their political attachments are jacobinical; they hate the English aristocracy, envy English glory, and are even more opposed to our superiority than their adversaries. If either of these parties—if any country or nation should attack us, we should find in our own courage and resources ample means of resistance. Should any state be oppressed—should the balance of power be endangered, our exertions would not be wanted to protect the weak, or preserve the whole from danger. From the struggle of parties we had hitherto abstained from interfering, we had taken no part between them; and he hoped we should never interfere either in favour of those whose aim was to put down all liberty, or in favour of those whose aim was to destroy all existing institutions. On one occasion there was a necessity for us to unite with all the powers of Europe to obtain a common object; but that object was obtained whenever France resumed her station as a great power, and we were not disposed to lend ourselves to their selfish views. There was one particular case in which we had acted even in opposition to them. We had not been hasty in acknowledging the independence of the states of South America, but we had declared, from the time when the insurrection broke out, that our conduct with regard to them would be guided by a view to our own prosperity, and without any reference to the principles or practices followed by other states. We had conducted ourselves in this matter with all possible delicacy; we had run no race for popularity, and given up no princi-

les to secure ourselves commercial advantages. We had proceeded gradually, and taken no step not sanctioned by our principles. When Spain had no longer any troops in these colonies, nor any means of sending them, it would be absurd delay acknowledging these powers, out of any tenderness to Spain, or out of respect to an extravagant claim, though supported by other European powers. These colonies are now republics; they might have been like Brasil, imperial; with this we have nothing to do, since they are all capable of maintaining their relations with foreign powers. They are dependent of Spain; and we should rather be blamed for the tardiness than the haste of our recognition [hear, hear!]. The colonies preserve their independence by their own power, but Spain is garrisoned by forty thousand foreigners, who are here now to support, but may overthrow the government. A comparison has been drawn, he must say absurdly, between the situation of Spain and her colonies, and the situation of this country and our colonies, during the American war. He would not enter into the question of that war; he did not say whether the conduct of this country was right or wrong, but at least we had fleets and armies to support our pretensions. We had a powerful king, and that king had a people. But Spain claims dominion over colonies situated in a distant country, having no force in them, and without a ship to send to sea, or a regiment to embark, with a tottering throne bolstered up by an army of foreigners, the most detested of all people, and without either funds or credit. We may be blamed for not taking this step earlier, but we cannot be censured for taking it now. We had proceeded with caution and delicacy, for it was a difficult question to decide where independence ends, and legal government begins. We had proceeded cautiously and justly.—We had not recognized these colonies—they had established their own independence, and

neither Spain nor any other power had any thing to blame us for, because the question had at length been settled contrary to the wishes of Spain."

Lord Liverpool endeavoured to demonstrate that, after the difficulties resulting from the last war, local and temporary causes have created others since the peace. As to foreign affairs, the noble lord declared that, in recognizing the independence of America, the object of the government had been the opening of the ports of the New World, not only to England, but to the whole world; and that, however important this recognition may be in a commercial and political point of view, the views of the government were of a still higher nature.

"The real questions for them," says his lordship, "were, whether any considerable contest was being carried on between the mother-country and the colonies; whether in the latter, there was to be found any strong party in favor of the mother-country, or whether that party was not completely insignificant, even if it had any existence? and whether there was any hope of reconciliation between the two countries? If there was, then he should oppose any interference on the part of a third state. What were the circumstances upon which their rights of interference were founded? Not upon their own interests alone, but on their interests as connected with those of the world at large. He had no hesitation in saying, that, when peace had been restored to Europe, this country had offered her médiation, which, however, had been declined—and he might add, that he had now reason to know that these colonies would have been secured to Spain, had she listened to that offer of mediation. Secured not certainly in their old state of bondage, but by an honorable though de-

ndent union. Such being the case, it became the duty of a government, with reference to her own interests, to look at that time when no real or considerable contest was going on—when there was no reasonable hope of mediation—and even circumstances taught the mother-country herself to desire the existence of any strong party in the colonies inclined favorably towards her. The first state which had taken decisive means to separate herself from the mother-country, was that of Rio de la Plata. When that separation should be effected, of course the first thing that would take place between this country and that, would be an exchange of ministers. The colony was at that time negotiating a treaty, by which she was to be delivered from the Spanish yoke. Colombia was the next state to which he should resort. At the commencement of last year, Colombia was in a state to have maintained relations with foreign powers, but entered into an engagement with another state, by which she became bound to undertake a war against a third, where the influence of Spain still existed in considerable force, and therefore this country, acting on the principles he had mentioned, had felt that it was not only the most natural but the most prudent course to adopt, to wait and know what was to be done, before it adopted any final step with regard to that state. As to Mexico, that stood in a different situation, in which in some measure required the same delay. The government of that state had formerly been possessed by a man who, after losing his authority there, had visited this country. From hence he sailed to Mexico, with the hope of establishing the authority he had lost. While the success of his attempt was yet undetermined, this country could take no measures for the immediate recognition of that state. Another reason for the delay of that proceeding was, that in Mexico no regular government had been, at that time, formed. The doubts of this country, however, had been finally determined, by the capture of the individual to whom he had al-

luded, and by the establishment of a regular government. He had thought it necessary thus to state the principles upon which this country had acted, from which, he thought, it would clearly appear, that the recognition of these states had only been delayed, while that delay was rendered absolutely necessary by existing circumstances ; but that, when these circumstances had ceased to operate, the recognition had instantly been made."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord Gower, after having described to the House the prosperity of Great Britain, including also that of Ireland ; after having declared that, in his opinion, nothing can induce the supposition, that there will be any interruption to the amicable relations which exist between Great Britain and the other powers, *although various causes have changed the politics of Europe, and although it would be difficult to foresee what might occur in so complicated a system* ; and after having alluded to some transactions with the United States, then enters upon the grand question of South America, in these terms :

"I proceed to notice a part of his Majesty's speech, which cannot fail to excite the most intense interest in this country, and in every part of the civilized world—I allude to the announcement of his Majesty's intention to enter into commercial treaties with certain newly-organized states of South America, which have established their own form of government. The object of these treaties is one of which I need not point out the necessity to the representative assembly of the greatest commercial nation that ever existed in the world ; it is that of consolidating those commercial interests and regulations

without which the merchant is apt to assume the character of an adventurer, and trade becomes a speculation. While I acknowledge and feel, as deeply as any man can do, the necessity of such regulations, a necessity which has been felt by those who are practically interested, and which must be obvious to the nation at large, I think both the politician and the merchant must acknowledge, that circumstances did exist which rendered it imperative on the government of the country to act with caution, to deliberate on the measures by which they would afterwards be bound, and on the time and manner of executing them. No one could be surprised that, in cases such as these, a government might be led on to adopt a course of policy, in pursuance of her own fair and honorable interest, which policy might subsequently lead to measures perfectly compatible with the rights of every human being; and yet, it might be such a course of policy as another government, under different circumstances, would find it difficult to carry into execution. It is needless to remind the House, that, in her just attention to these interests, England did not interpose during the struggle between Spain and her colonies. A bill, which has undergone repeated discussion in this House, whatever may be its merits, clearly demonstrates that England had no such intention. Ministers foresaw that a period would arrive when measures of this kind might become necessary. In the mean time, their course of policy was left to make its way; answers and explanations were freely given to all who required them; and now, in the fulness of time, we see those political predictions in progress of accomplishment [hear, hear!]. This is what I feel as to the manner in which the transactions were conducted; and I dwell on this part of the subject with the more anxiety, because there was another manner which might have been adopted, by which the rights of the mother-country would have been invaded. If I supposed that any cabinet in Europe could think that menace would be an effectual wea-

pon to induce Great Britain to alter her opinion, or retrace her steps, still I should conclude their experience would teach them that it would be prudent to abstain until a period arrived when such a course might have an effect. The fairest test that can be applied to human conduct, either between man and man, or nation and nation, is to try the re-application of similar conduct upon ourselves. Now we may be told that we have a large colonial empire; our colonies may revolt—if they should do so, then, I say, let every country that has commercial relations with such colonies pursue the same course towards us. I ask no more. We may be told that we merely attend to our own interest; my answer is, we do so; and it happens besides, that it is the interest of the whole world, although all nations are not so favorably situated. I can suppose a case, in which the British government might have taken a course which would have given just cause of offence to Spain, which might have irritated the pride of the monarch and ministers of that country, and justified them in calling on their allies to make common cause with them against our aggression; and which might have raised the standard of war upon a principle, which, next to a religious conflict, might be the most inextinguishable source of misery to mankind. We might, when the struggle was in progress, have proclaimed a constitution, when the insurgent flag was hoisted, and in so doing, we should have committed an essential act of hostility. I wish to set the conduct of government in its proper light, and with this view I would appeal to history; I would place it side by side with the conduct of France in the American war, at the time when she tampered with our envoys—when,

“Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,”

her timidity forced us into the struggle. I would repeat the speeches and declarations of France, the answer of Gibbon,

and the declarations in the house of Governor Turner [cheers]. I hope, when these treaties come to be read, they will tend still further to increase the commercial prosperity of the country, which is at present at a height unexampled in history" [hear, hear!].

Mr. Brougham then rose ; he recalled to the attention of the house the motion which he made, in the preceding session, to obtain what was, at first, so obstinately refused, in order to grant it a little later ; and he hoped that the experience of what had been done would induce ministers to do still more. He, however, congratulated them on their conduct towards South America ; he would not reproach them with their tardiness, but he regretted that they did not apply the same principle to St. Domingo, which has succeeded in establishing its independence, and has, for many years, enjoyed it much more tranquilly than the most consolidated governments of South America. It is true that, at the moment of the struggle, he thought it would have been contrary to the interest of England to interfere ; but it appeared to him that, at the present moment, the West Indian colonies, the interest of the whites intrusted to the English government, and that of the unhappy slaves, required the recognition of the independence of St. Domingo.

Mr. Canning, in reply to the speech of the honorable member, entered upon the question of the independence of America, and declared, that the three republics mentioned in the king's speech could not have been sooner recognized ; that Buenos-Ayres, indeed, had for some years been delivered from the Spanish troops, but that, as this state consisted of thirteen or

fourteen provinces, it was first necessary to ascertain that they were united under the same power; that this consolidation was the sole condition of the treaty concluded with the state, and that, if it was found to exist, as he doubted not was the fact, the treaty would be signed; that, as to Colombia, only two years had elapsed since the expulsion of the Spanish forces; and, consequently, it was for not more than two years that this republic could have been admitted into the number of independent nations; that, some time after the expulsion of the Spaniards, the Colombians, having thought proper to risk their independence, by sending the greater part of their forces out of their territory, England could not recognize this republic whilst there was reason to fear a renewal of the contest; that the success of the Colombians at Peru, of which the government had positive knowledge, having removed all apprehension of that danger, the government had acted accordingly. Mr. Canning alluded, as did Lord Liverpool, in the House of Lords, to the attempt of Iturbide on Mexico, and declared that it was physically and morally impossible to proclaim the recognition of this state before the time they had chosen. As to the mode of recognition, the minister explained himself thus :

“There are those who maintain that there is something mean and paltry in negotiating a treaty as the means of recognition; but as far as I am informed, it has been the course in such transactions, in the most approved cases, in the best times. The ministers of the United States (to go back to what is an example for this purpose, though not for imitation in other instances) were not admitted to the court of France until after the signature of the treaty, which was the mode of recogni-

tion: the signature of that treaty was announced by France to this country, as the act of recognition. . But there was this great difference in the two cases. . France not only recognized the United States before the mother-country had done so, but without giving her the choice of doing it first. With the treaty of amity and commerce on that occasion, was mixed up a treaty of alliance, by which France made herself the enemy of Great Britain [hear, hear !]. Is it to be contended that this measure is imperfect, because it has been unaccompanied by a war with Spain [hear !]? What I endeavoured to accomplish was, to arrive at an object which I knew to be the wish of the country, if not without exciting, at least, without giving any just ground for hostility [hear, hear, hear !]. There may be something paltry, mean, and huckster-like (as the honorable and learned gentleman says) in this anxiety, but I am not yet aware that it was so. War lay here and there on each side of our path; our course was in the centre, and we arrived at the end without stirring the dangers that surrounded us [hear, hear !]. I ask then, with confidence, in what respect is this measure unsatisfactory? Is it unsatisfactory, because from the beginning to the end no step was taken by the British government, which was not accurately announced to every party interested, whether by immediate relation, sympathy or honor [hear !]? Is it unsatisfactory, because in the archives of any office there does not exist a single document which Spain has not seen, and of which the allies have not had cognizance [hear !]? Is it unsatisfactory, because Spain has been told for years, that if she would take the precedence in this act of grace, Great Britain would be content to follow at a humble distance, giving her all the advantage of priority in the markets of her colonies [hear, hear !]? She has refused our offer, and, though we go alone in this recognition, we scorn to take any separate advantage [hear !]. In every treaty we have negotiated with the independent states, so far from selling our

recognition for a price, we demanded only to be placed where those who chose to follow us should stand upon equal terms at our side [hear, hear!]. The honorable and learned gentleman tells us that he approves of the measure, but disapproves of the time and mode of its execution. I tell him, in return, that for aught I care, the measure may be his, or his honorable and learned friend's, or the country's, or the measure of common sense; but what I claim to myself, as a merit, if merit there be, is precisely that to which he affixes blame, and applies censure, viz., the time and mode of the recognition. By this plain and straight forward course—by this temperate and prudent policy, if you will—I trust, that we have avoided all the dangers that might otherwise have encompassed such a proceeding. Do I pretend to conceal, that by this step, we have hurt many feelings—that we have run counter to many interests—that we have shocked many prejudices—that we have caused many regrets—that we have excited much anger and indignation? It is true, that we have done so—I cannot deny it; but still I entertain the most sanguine hope, that all these feelings will explode themselves in words, and that we shall remain with our object gained, and at peace with all the world" (much cheering).

The minister added some other observations, and sat down amidst the unanimous applauses of the House:

OF THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF SOUTH AMERICA, SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LAST NUMBER OF THE AMERICAN MONITOR.

The whole of South America may reply to the calumniators who refuse to her the power of self-regeneration, as an ancient philosopher once replied to a sophist who denied the existence of motion; he refuted him by walking. In the same manner, America advances with rapid steps in the career of civilization and independence, and patiently listens to the clamours of its impotent enemies, who seem to possess no other power than to retrograde; they take refuge in the past, whilst America rests upon the present, thence to start forward into the future.

In directing our attention to all the new states arising upon the ruins of Portugal and Spain, from Cape Horn to the extremity of the Gulf of California, we every where see the storms subsiding, which so great a revolution must necessarily have produced, whilst time confirms the doctrines which have released America from the fetters of her former connexions,

At Brasil, the two opposite principles which came into momentary contact, have become eventually blended into one; and, from their transient collision, has resulted the state of things so long desired and foreseen; or, in other words, the consolidation of a constitutional monarchy, founded on independence and liberty.

It is curious to observe the facility with which all the social elements of this new empire, which certain superficial theorists lately endeavoured to represent as essentially heterogeneous, are now tending to co-ordination, and assuming a fixed and regular direction. It seems as if the Brazilians had undertaken to refute, by their conduct, the inveterate prejudice which supposes that a people, whom a revolution releases from slavery, is necessarily inclined to licentiousness. It is, certainly, but a short time since Brasil was in a state of subjection to the most insupportable authority, and yet, is there a nation which, at this time, possesses a more correct feeling as to its situation and wants? Is there one in which true liberty has displayed more energy, and disorder more impotence and sterility? In vain has it been attempted at Brasil as elsewhere, to substitute a factitious opinion for that of the public. The national good sense has exercised summary justice on these unavailing efforts, and wherever anarchy has dared to shew itself, the presence of the constitutional authority has been sufficient to induce every man to return to his place, and to assist in overcoming the obstacles which retarded the national progress in the noble career of independence and civil liberty; so that it may be said, with the strictest truth, that this beautiful part of the southern hemisphere offers to the world the unusual spectacle of a populous nation accomplishing its regeneration by means of a great revolution, the prominent characters of which are moderation and perseverance. And, indeed, all men versed in political affairs are unanimous in their opinion that, by this wise and firm conduct, the empire of Brasil has, in two years, acquired more real inde-

pendence; and placed between itself and its former rulers, a more formidable barrier than could have been effected, during many years, by the utmost violence of anarchy and war.

In respect to ourselves, we confess that Brasil appears to us to have found the guarantee of its regeneration in the secret of conciliating order and justice with a legitimate opposition to the principles of European tyranny. This luminous combination has reduced its haughty enemies to despair, and, in the estimation of men of good faith, has already placed Brasil on a level with the nations whose destinies are auspiciously and irrevocably fixed. It is by a policy, thus calm and energetic, that it has stifled the internal irritations which were beginning to disturb it, and counteracted the warlike intentions and menacing attitude of foreign enemies, who aimed at the subversion of its independence. In this double point of view, the policy of the cabinet of Rio de Janeiro is the theme of conversation in all diplomatic circles, in which it begins to be considered under its most important point of view; in other words, it is now judged by what it has accomplished. These results are certainly immense, and solemnly give the lie to that absurd prejudice which refuses to admit the Brazilians into a state of social equality with a monarchy which is falling into ruins. These results prove also that political science is making greater progress in the heads of the statesmen of the New World, than in the pride-inflated brains of those Lilliputian politicians who, some weeks past, were still afflicting Portugal with the scourge of their tyranny.

Indeed, when we compare the opposite course of

these two governments, and the rapid development of the prosperity of Brasil, with the still more rapid decay of the ancient metropolis, it requires a more than usual share of generosity to resist this inclination of pursuing with contempt and opprobrium, even to their tardy retreat, the men whose disgraceful power has just expired on the banks of the Tagus. As, however, our predictions have been realized, and as these men can no longer brave the public opinion which rejected and still rejects them, we waive the reflexions they suggest, and will confine ourselves to state what has been done by real statesmen whom the pride of a Mr. de Pamplona publicly taxed with inefficiency, and whom his foolish presumption pretended to bring back under his rod.

We will not recal the attention of our readers to the state of Brasil, before the happy revolution which has placed her under the protection of the prince who established her independence. They know that the elements of despotism had become so combined with national habits, that it appeared very difficult to separate them without endangering the whole;—that the then existing institutions fettered freedom of thought, and obstructed the progress of agriculture and population;—that commerce, restricted by a contracted and oppressive system, was reduced to a state of deplorable stagnation; and that legislation had no other object than to keep men in ignorance of their most legitimate rights. But now, what a metamorphosis, and what strides in the career of civilization! We have now before us authentic documents which prove that an intimate connexion has been established between the most distant provinces of the empire;—that public

instruction is propagating knowledge, through every class of society;—that the plains of this country, favored by nature, are covered with abundant crops;—that its mountains, whose bowels enclose mines of immense treasures, which, notwithstanding the long period they have been worked, have not yet been impoverished, offer to the nation a hundred times more resources than are necessary to guarantee the faith of its engagements, and render its financial system the safest and most flourishing in the universe.

On the other hand, the constitutional system is every where exhibiting itself under all its aspects; all the parts of administration are in perfect unison with the representative principle, and all traces of internal dissention have disappeared: an effect arising much more from public opinion, than from the activity of administration. A recent event proves the intimate connexion between the alliance of the nation and the Brazilian government, and the power possessed by a state in which the body of the people spontaneously constitute themselves the natural defenders of the throne and laws. Our readers have assuredly not forgotten the *glorious* issue which crowned the grand republican designs of the hero of the equator, the ex-president Carvalho. They remember that, after the surrender of the town of Pernambuco, (where the purses of respectable men suffered more than the imperial army,) the wreck of the army of this great chief, unable any longer to resist the soldiers of the emperor, amused themselves with disturbing the peaceful cultivators of the soil, from whom they exacted the reward of their exploits; but the whole population, fatigued with the excesses of their pretended defenders, adopted

the wise course of putting an end to their plunder. They seized their persons, which they delivered up into the hands of the sovereign authority.

The soldiers, whom some ambitious men had gained by the allurements of plunder and impunity, were the first to arrest and deliver up their chiefs. It was thus that the invulnerable Filgueiras,* who had retired into the interior with a few hundred rebels, was conducted to the authorities of Sierra. In the same manner, Lisboa, that celebrated journalist, who relinquished the pen to wield the sword under the standards of Carvalho, was arrested and assassinated by the very men he had misled. Events of this nature require no comment; for it is evident, that wherever order and peace, spontaneously, as it were, re-establish themselves, rebellion must necessarily be very feeble, and legal power very strong. Of this Brasil is a proof.

... BUENOS AYRES.—The internal state of this federative republic is nearly such as we have described it, in our preceding Number. Although none of the parts of its social condition have suffered any material alteration, yet both in their aggregates, and in each of them separately, may be perceived a consolidation and

* This Felgueiras, alias Patois, had acquired over the minds of the people a species of authority, exhibiting a new proof that ignorance is a great calamity. He had learned of a European quack some tricks which for a long time have ceased to deceive even children; among others, that of seeming to receive a ball, fired close to him, without being wounded by it. It was by such means he persuaded some weak persons, that he was invulnerable, and consequently, that he was delegated by heaven to defend their rights, that is, to perpetuate anarchy.

strength which prove the completion of the revolution which has placed the republic of La Plata in the rank of a free nation. The most perfect tranquillity prevails in all parts of the union. The population are every where sincerely devoted to the present political state of things, and seems to consider their former dependence only as a calamity, having no claim to their attention, unless to prevent its return. The elections of the deputies of the twelve united provinces to the new congress convoked by the directory to determine the constitution of the government, that is to say, to decide whether it should be federal or peculiar to each state, have been every where conducted with the greatest order, and the members of the different provinces were beginning to assemble in the capital, from the beginning of December; and, although the immense extent of the states which form the union, appears, in some measure, to favor the adoption of separate governments, it is generally hoped that the states of La Plata will follow the example of Mexico, by adopting the federal government which, in our own opinion, is more congenial with the actual state of South America. The government, which is continually increasing in moral strength, is incessantly occupied in forming laws which attest the progress of civilization, and correspond in all respects with the prospects, rights, and exigencies of the nations the most advanced in the career of true liberty. One of the proposed laws which the government has lately submitted to the house of representatives, as well as the note which accompanies it, deserves to be mentioned for the honor of humanity. The following is the substance of it:—

"The provinces of Rio de la Plata have already had the glory of abolishing the slave trade by a special law, and of sparing the country the shame of the sacrifice of new victims. They may also exult in having laid the foundation of the general emancipation of the slaves. But the government of Buenos Ayres thinks that the sanction of the proposed law, here annexed, is indispensable to the completion of the grand work of the revolution. The government feels itself supported by the opinion of the representatives, and this idea induces it to hope that the sanction of the law which it presents will emanate from the fourth legislature.

(Signed)

"JUAN GREGONO DE LOS NEROS.

"MANUEL JOSE GARCIA."

PROPOSED LAW.

"1. The African slave trade is declared piracy.

"2. The citizens of Buenos Ayres who, after the publication of the present law, shall engage in the slave trade, shall be punished as pirates."

This act, which may be considered as the necessary result of the almost incredible progress the people of Buenos Ayres have made the last ten years, in nearly every department of moral science, stamps upon the new order of things the character of stability. It would be useless to observe to our readers that it is perfectly consonant with the principles recently adopted by Great Britain and the United States, respecting the abolition of negro slavery.

CHILI.—It is to be regretted that the instability which prevails in the internal institutions of this republic, still retards the fulfilment of the hopes which had been indulged. The extraordinary changes which daily succeed each other in the Chilian government,

Without seriously compromising the independence of the state, have, however, the effect of paralyzing the evolution, and prevent Chili from taking a station of perfect equality with the other states of South America. A Buenos Ayres paper of, the 25th of August, contains the following account of a change of government in Chili.

“On the 19th of July, the director Freyre, being unable to give movement to the machine of this government, divested himself of his authority before the senate; but having learnt that this body would not receive his resignation, he declared to them that he would retain the command of the military force, as the oldest general of the republic. In these circumstances, the senate, being under the necessity of coming to some resolution, called into their presence the ministers of state, and required them to request of the director a detailed statement of the articles which, in his opinion, impeded the exercise of his authority, in order that they might proceed to reform or to suspend them. The ministers resisted this call, declaring that, in the opinion of the government, no reform of the constitution could take place, for that the whole of it was radically wrong. The senate being embarrassed with this discussion, and unable to come to any definitive resolution, a part of the people met in the *Sala Capitular*, to take such measures as the case required. This latter body proceeded, in fact, to appoint a governor, and the choice fell on Fuente-illa, who immediately published an order, convoking the people to the *Sala Capitular*. About two hundred of them having assembled, General Freyre was declared director of the state, by acclamation. At the same time it was resolved, that the constitution sanctioned in 1823 should be abrogated; that the senate should be abolished, and that a commission should be appointed to revise the constitution of 1818.”

It appears, according to another document before us, that, alarmed at the concessions extorted from him, General Freyre would himself have excited this unexpected revolution, which our correspondent at Santiago represents as having taken place in the following manner:

“There has been an unexpected revolution here. I told you how popular General Freyre had become, and gave you an outline of the absurd measures he had sanctioned. The consequence was, that he became the dupe of a fanatical party, of which the bishop, whom the former government had banished, but who returned just before Freyre to Santiago, was the prime mover. Freyre's prime minister, Benevente, a native of Concepcion, possessing considerable talents, and much more liberal notions than are common among the wisest of the Chilinos, drew to him all those who professed, or pretended to entertain similar notions, and thus strengthened, made propositions to Freyre which he immediately accepted, placed himself at the head of this party, and effected a change by far more surprising than any that has ever occurred in this country. His measures were at once so bold and decisive as completely to astound and disarm the servile faction. Benevente retains his situation of minister of marine and finance, Freyre that of nominal, or real director; General Pinto, a man of talents, is appointed minister of state and war. The first step General Freyre took was to annul the last new constitution, which in practice was found to be something worse than useless. He dissolved the council of state and the senate, and declared himself armed with absolute power for three months, at the end of which time a congress is to be called; in the mean time the provisional constitution of 1818 is to be in force. His next, but by far the boldest step, was the banishment of the bishop, and the substitution of a man in whom he can, or thinks he can confide,

his place. He seized all the monasterial property, in the country, and ordered the whole of the monks to be banished. These are really and truly most astonishing proceedings, and that they have been decreed without even the slightest shew of resistance. They have put an immense property into the hands of the government. Many of the richest estates in Chili belonged to the monasteries, a large portion of the sea-port town of Valparaiso, and still larger portion of the city of Santiago, belonged to the church. These seizures, in the present distressed condition of the exchequer, will not only furnish a large supply of money, but will for some time to come furnish abundant revenues. The poor, easy, quiet, but bigoted Chilinos, crossed their breasts and foreheads, lifted up their hands, turned up their eyes in amazement, and then sunk to their usual apathy. Freyre, and the ministers, managed their matters with great adroitness. The decrees contained a full approbation of the resident nuncio from the Pope, which at once silenced all shew of opposition. The nuncio was a Chilino, formerly a friar. He was selected by the late supreme director, O'Higgins, and sent to Rome to make his submission as representative of Chili, on its becoming independent, and returned home in the character of nuncio. He has made a promise to the monks which will never be performed, to convert them into secular clergymen, and to give them livings. Another no less wise measure has been adopted, in the determination to get rid of the whole of the regular or irregular army, retaining only five hundred soldiers and the militia of the provinces, for the protection of the country towards the southward against the Indian natives. Government intends to re-organize the navy, and put it on the most respectable footing possible, that it may serve for and secure the national independence, which can be attacked in no way but by sea. The mode adopted to get rid of the army is to send it to Bolivar, in Peru, he having applied for assistance in this way. Active preparations are now making to dispatch them.

The squadron is getting ready, transports and stores are preparing, and in a short time the whole of the troops will have left the country. All these extraordinary measures, so opposite to the prejudices and modes of thinking of the Chilinos, have been adopted without the least shew of opposition.

“ The Chilinos are certainly a very singular people, they are a most striking contrast to the people on the other side of the Cordilleras. Most of the heads of the convents acquiesced in the new decrees, without even a murmur; the few who ventured to protest against them have been put into close confinement on board the O'Higgins man-of-war, where they have already been forgotten by their supine countrymen. General Blanco has hoisted his flag on board this ship, and every thing is going forward with an activity never before known in Chili.”

But, to what is to be attributed the principle of all these vicissitudes? As we observed, in one of our preceding Numbers, the cause of this long agitation is to be found in the essence of the impracticable constitution adopted by Chili in the year 1823;* a constitution resting entirely on abstract principles, applicable, perhaps, to other times and other manners, but altogether inadmissible in the present state of the world. Independence and liberty are, requisites of the greatest urgency, and indispensable to all nations; but the absolute and exclusive reign of democracy is, unquestionably, as incompatible with the existence of modern society as the despotism of one person. Let the Chilians,

* The Editors of the American Monitor sincerely regret that the great abundance of political matter precludes them, at present, from laying before their readers a valuable paper on the important question of the American constitutions. But they hope, in their next Number, to communicate this paper, which is already in their possession.

therefore, direct their attention to the United States and Mexico; let them follow—it is in their power—an example of these republics, and they will find the limits within which the privileges of the people could be restricted, in order to avoid a state of anarchy.

On the other hand, theocracy seems still to exercise most fatal influence over Chili; for religious intolerance is a monstrous political contradiction in a nation living under a government which ought to afford equal protection to every one of its liberties. We see, with regret, that the minister of the United States, a short time since, addressed a note to the minister for foreign affairs of Chili, in which he bitterly complains of the obstructions foreigners meet with in the exercise of their religion; he, therefore, calls the attention of the government to this subject, and to the necessity of applying some remedy to the evil, by means of a law securing to foreigners the enjoyment of privileges to which they are entitled, and which may remove all cause of displeasure.

Mr. Canning has written under the same impression. His minister, among other things in his note, observes, that civil privileges consist in individual liberty, in the protection of property against every act of government caused by its political relations, or by internal dissensions; but, above all, in exemption from personal service in the army; from such taxes as affect not the mass of the nation; *and in the free exercise of the celebration of the rites of sepulture established by the respective customs of foreigners.*

Such claims on the one side, and such objections on the other, perfectly justify and account for the

considerations which have hitherto prevented the British government from including the republic of Chili in the number of the South American states whose independence they have just recognized. We are persuaded that the Chilian government will not delay to remove, by a more consistent and decided course, the obstacles which thus retard the political regeneration of the nation.

COLOMBIA.—The internal state of this republic is nearly such as we described it in our preceding Number. The interval which has elapsed, from that period to the present day, has produced no act of administration claiming particular mention. The government is employed, with a solicitude worthy of the highest praise, in regulating and consolidating institutions of all kinds, the basis of which we have already made known to our readers. Yet, among the objects which principally occupy the attention of the Colombian government, there is one which is peculiarly entitled to the approbation of our readers: the continually increasing improvement of the sinking fund recently instituted for the gradual extinction of the public debt, and which, from the wisdom with which it is adapted to that object (of which we have before us numerous proofs) cannot fail to impart to the financial system of the republic a degree of credit equal to that enjoyed by the safest funds, and the most firmly established governments.

Some men who cannot endure the idea, however well founded, that America is irrevocably independent, have pleased themselves with transforming into a formidable insurrection some unimportant tumults which took place in the beginning of December, in the envi-

rons of the town of Caraccas. This town having been, at that time, placed under martial law, the enemies of the republic hastened to proclaim that this measure was justified by the discovery of an extensive plot against the new order of things, and by the apprehension of an immediate invasion. This last supposition requires no refutation, and the first is equally destitute of probability. The fact is that, at the distance of eight or ten miles from Caraccas, there is a village called Petare, the alcade or commandant of which exercised a very oppressive jurisdiction over the inhabitants, but especially over the negroes, who were the particular objects of his hatred. These oppressions incited two or three hundred of these unhappy beings to seize a depôt of arms and ammunition, in the environs of Petare, which contained three hundred muskets and eight hundred cartridges. The guard stationed at this depôt, and which was composed of only eight men and a subaltern officer, determined to defend it and repulse the aggressors, some of whom were killed. The next day, a company of these men marched against Petare, and all fear vanished. But the Colombian government which experienced some difficulty in organizing the provincial militia (a measure opposed by some as useless), took advantage of this circumstance to avail itself of a plausible pretext, and with that sole view, placed the town of Caraccas under martial law: such is the whole secret of this grand affair.

We cannot, however, suffer this opportunity to pass without defending the Colombian government against an unprovoked and very odious imputation cast upon it by the *New York Mercantile Advertiser*. In

the Number of this journal, published on the 3d of December last, is inserted a letter in which, after announcing the execution of three or four insurgent negroes, the author adds, "that this is a contemptible affair, I seriously believe, without plan and without concert, and, perhaps, got up by the government for the purpose of inducing the citizens to join willingly in their militia duties." This supposition is atrocious and unworthy of a government which has ever given proofs of loyalty and humanity. The republic of Colombia can have no sentiment congenial with the dark policy of those cabinets in whose estimation the blood of men is of little importance.

PERU.—The military events of which this beautiful country is still the theatre, and the political dictatorship which is their necessary consequence, have not, hitherto, allowed it to consolidate its internal institutions, and fix them upon a uniform and permanent basis; but every thing announces that public opinion is universally formed upon the principles of the revolution, and that Peru waits only for the cessation of hostilities to assimilate its institutions to those of its neighbours, and to quicken its progress in the new social system of America; and such is the feeling of security this republic inspires, that, although it is still the theatre of war, its public funds, the true thermometer of the opinion entertained of it, suffer no unfavorable fluctuation, and have even risen 1 per cent.

GUATIMALA.—The independence of this republic, known under the name of the United Provinces of Central America, and composed of the provinces of Chiapa, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, San Salvador, Guatimala and Quesaltenongo, has been defini-

tively recognized by Mexico, to the territory of which it belonged, and from which it detached itself during the ephemeral reign of Iturbide. Its government, which has also an accredited minister in the United States, is occupied without intermission, and with the greatest success, in giving to this rising federative republic a good and stable constitution. Among the wise measures which it has adopted to attain this object, there is one which must eminently contribute to its prosperity. This is the decree which favors the colonization of foreigners. The substance of it is, that all foreigners may repair to the provinces of the republic, where they will be admitted by the local authorities; they may there exercise any profession, and even undertake the working of the mines, the laws which forbade this being now repealed. Foreigners may become denizens by having their names inscribed in the registers of the district, and they will become citizens of the state after a time determined by the law; and till that period, by conforming to the provisions of the fundamental law for obtaining the title of citizen, they will enjoy all the rights which belong to a denizen.

Any citizen of the United Provinces, and even any foreigner, may build one or more towns by submitting the plans to the government of the district to which he belongs, and by engaging to find, within a fixed time, at least fifteen families for each new town. When ten of these families shall present themselves at the place fixed for the new town, they shall take an oath of fidelity to the constitution of the province, in the presence of a commissary appointed by the provincial chief, and they shall elect their municipal off-

ers in conformity to the existing laws. To each family shall be allowed a thousand square rods of land, (a square of a thousand rods each way). Any bachelor may form a part of the new town by engaging to marry within the first six years of his residence, he shall receive a thousand perches of land if he marries a foreigner, and double that quantity if he marries a native. The land thus granted must be cultivated in a certain time, on pain of the loss of all or a part. The provincial governments are authorized to increase the portion of land belonging to planters who shall have fulfilled the conditions of the decree. The planters may sell their land as soon as it is under cultivation; they may dispose of it by will, and return to their own country. During the first twenty years, the new establishments shall be free from taxes of every description; they will consequently be able to export and import, by land or by sea, all foreign and territorial produce without paying any duty. The introduction of slaves into the new establishments is forbidden. The government undertakes to communicate this decree to all foreign governments, and to order it to be put in execution by the envoys.

MEXICO.—The revolution of this magnificent part of the New World is accomplished. Mexico has decidedly taken its station in the general social order of the world. At home and abroad the struggle is ended. Its external enemies have ceased to exist, and will never exist again; the Spanish expeditions are no longer to be considered as means of attack against this country, but as public declarations of a right which is for ever lost to the mother-country.

On the other hand, Mexico has completed its insti-

tutions. Contiguous to the United States, and a witness of their prosperity, it has had the wisdom to imitate them; it has adopted their institutions in order to arrive at the same happiness. Thus, from Canada to Darien, a uniform government among nations different in origin, in religion, in language, and in civilization, will form them into one social homogeneous whole; a mighty source of peace and happiness for all. It is the good genius of America that has thus united them. The constitution was no sooner completed than its laws were in full force, and according to custom, the authorities who were retiring from power bequeathed to the nation a public statement of the acts of their administration. How remarkable is this publication,* and how well does it reply to the calumnies circulated in Europe, respecting the difficulty America experiences in forming its constitutions! What immense labours finished in a few weeks by men, whom the Europeans had the politeness to tax with incapacity! what minister of the Holy Alliance ever gave a more loyal, a more satisfactory account of his administration than the Mexican ministers have just given to their country.

Mexico, this richest and most extensive of the ancient possessions of Spain, has then raised itself to the rank of great nations. The principal part of the twelve provinces which formerly composed the viceroyalty of New Spain, are become so many independent states, united by a common bond, under a government which rules the governments of the states only

* See the Section—Historical Documents.

in general affairs, and whose influence is, in no respect, adverse to their respective rights. Each of these states has a constitution, a congress, an executive government, a commander in chief, and an army; it determines and fixes, itself, its local taxes. The Mexican republic, as well as those of North America, exhibits states of an importance very unequal in extent, in power, in population, and in every species of resources; but, by one simple and equitable arrangement, the political rights of all are equal.

Mexico now contains a population of seven millions of souls, of whom, it is supposed that about two hundred thousand regret the extinction of the Spanish dominion; all the rest are decidedly in favor of independence and liberty; and even the priests, according to the information we have received, appear to have become sincere republicans, since the death of the Emperor Iturbide. If this be the case, Mexican liberty has no more obstacles to overcome, no more miracles to perform.

F. d. F.

WAR AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

The eagerness with which the first Numbers of the "American Monitor" have been received by the public, and the daily increasing number of its readers, having proved to the editors that the interest inspired by this periodical work, instead of becoming weaker, acquires, every day, a new degree of force and intensity;—they think themselves justified in anticipating the moment, certainly not very distant, when the cessation of hostilities throughout the whole extent of Southern America will consign that section of the "Monitor" to the pages of history. The editors have, therefore, resolved from this day, to divide the article "War and Military Intelligence," into two distinct parts. The first, which will be the "Historical Part," will contain a succinct history of the independence of South America, considered exclusively in a military point of view, from its origin to the period at which the editors commenced the article "War" inserted in the first Number of this work. The second part, which will be designated by the title of "Bulletin of the Present War," will continue to exhibit the picture of the hostilities now taking place, and that also of all the facts, laws, institutions, &c., that will naturally arise from them; so that the section "War" in the "American Monitor" will, henceforth, offer to the readers of this work, an aggregate view of all the military facts, past and present which constitute, or may constitute, a part of the

same subject. It will be one uninterrupted concatenation, one same thread which, continually unwinding, will conduct the reader through all the successes, reverses, and vicissitudes that shall have marked the progress of the war connected with the independence of South America, since the year 1808, the period of the first rupture of the accustomed relations between Spain and her colonies, to the events which have taken place under our eyes, and probably to those which will terminate this glorious struggle.

HISTORICAL PART.

Every one knows how the events of the European peninsula led to the first rupture between Spain and her colonies. Regardless of the pretended arrangements of Bayonne in 1808, the Spanish provinces had created assemblies under the name of *juntas*, each of which, in its peculiar district, attributed to itself supreme authority. That of Seville, assumed the pompous name of the Supreme Governing Junta (Gubernativa) of Spain and of the Indies; and claimed the right of sending deputies to all those parts of America, in which Spain possessed colonies. These deputies endeavoured to secure the recognition of the junta of Seville, as the only authority to which all Spain owed obedience. But, at the same time, the regency established at Madrid by Ferdinand, and the junta of the Asturias which refused to acknowledge the junta of Seville, were equally solicitous that their power should be recognized by the Americans.

In this dilemma, liberty was not the object which drew the first attention of the American Spaniards.

It must be said, to the praise of these generous colonists, so calumniated by prejudiced men, that the resistance of their European brethren to the colossal power which wished to enslave them, appeared to them so noble, and they took so lively an interest in the misfortunes of the family which had so long oppressed them, that they forgot their resentments, and engaged (contrary to their interests) in the great quarrel of the peninsula in favor of the mother-country, which they might consider as their most cruel enemy.

In the mean time, the conduct of the governors commissioned and sent by the king of Spain, presented, in this instance, a very extraordinary contrast to the sublime disinterestedness of the American colonies. Actuated by selfishness and ambition, all, except the viceroy of Mexico, were disposed to acknowledge a government the most illegitimate of all, because imposed by force and rejected by the nation; all were inclined to take the oath of fidelity to Joseph Bonaparte, and to obey the decree of the council of the Indies, which enjoined the recognition of the meetings at Bayonne, when the Americans themselves withdrew from them their allegiance, publicly burnt the proclamations of Bonaparte, and drove away the men who brought it. Some time, however, after these demonstrations of attachment to the mother-country, the colonies, having demanded the liberty of forming juntas like those of Spain, and on account of the situation of the peninsula, the viceroy and captains-general refused to accede to these proposals, and ordered the principal petitioners to be arrested. This took place particularly in the province of Venezuela.

Farther, the governor of the city of Monte Video, Don Xaixer Elio, the personal enemy of the viceroy of Buenos Ayres, Leniers, availed himself of the bad position in which the latter had placed himself, to induce the whole country under his command to withdraw from him its obedience, and to form a junta in imitation of that of Seville.

The city of Mexico, on its part, claimed also, on the 5th of August, of the old viceroy Hurrigaray, the formation of a junta composed of the tribunals of the constituted authorities of this capital. Hurrigaray proposed to resign his authority. This proposal emboldened the Mexicans, who deposed him and threw him into the prisons of the inquisition.

The conduct of the insurgents received the approbation of the junta of Seville. Things remained in this state at Mexico, till 1810, when the curé Don Miguel Hidalgo raised the standard of independence, and was powerfully seconded by another curé, Don Joseph Morellos, who afterwards became general in chief of the Mexican insurgents.

At this period (1810), the American colonies had sent more than ninety millions to Spain to support the war against France. But the length of this war at last induced some of the American provinces to provide for their own safety, by giving to themselves a government of their own. The district of la Paz, an *audience* of Caraccas, a viceroyalty of Peru, was the first that set the example to the other Spanish establishments. The viceroys of Peru and Buenos Ayres opposed this movement ; General Goyeneche overcame the insurgents, and put to death a great number, in the most ignominious and horrible manner. Quito, one of

the cities of the province of Santa Fé de Bogota, in the kingdom of New Grenada, imitated La Paz, and a junta was soon formed at Santa Fé, upon the principles adopted by the city of Quito. The viceroy of New Grenada, seconded by that of Peru, marched troops against the central point of the insurrection; a great number of patriots were arrested the 2d of August, 1810, and massacred in their prison, and Quito was given up to plunder to the troops from Lima, cantoned in that city. Similar executions produced an effect contrary to that expected by their authors. The fermentation extended rapidly to all the Spanish colonies of the American continent.

The municipal body (*aguntamiento*) of the city of Caraccas, in union with some persons appointed by the people, deposed the captain general, Emparon, commanding the extensive province of Venezuela, on the north of South America, and assumed the reins of the general administration of the province, under the name of supreme junta.

The inhabitants of Buenos Ayres demanded of the viceroy Cisneros, the convocation of a congress, which met the 22d of May, 1810, and deliberated respecting the establishment of a junta, which was installed the 25th of the same month.

On the 20th of July of this year, the junta of Santa Fé de Bogota was also established.

That of Chili was formed the 18th of September. The oppressive measures of the captain general Carasco accelerated the resolution of the inhabitants.

Of all the insurrectional movements, that which assumed the most decided character, and which, at this period, particularly attracted the attention of

Europe, was the insurrection of Caraccas. This province was declared, by the regency of Cadiz, in a state of blockade, with the exception of the districts of Maracaibo and Coro, which appeared not to have taken any part in the projects of the junta.

To avoid confusion in the recital of events, we will present, in a regular series of historical articles, a sketch of facts connected with each province of Spanish America, and we will commence with those which took place in Venezuela and New Grenada.

REVOLUTION OF CARACCAS.

The capitanerie general of Venezuela, the capital of which is the city of Leon de Caraccas, is situated on the north part of South America, which is contiguous, on the west, to the government of New Grenada, comprehending the kingdom of Quito, and on the east, to the Atlantic Ocean. It is subdivided into several districts, or small provinces, which are the islands of Margerita, Virinas, Guyana, Maracaibo, Cumana and Caraccas.

It was the 19th of April, 1810, that the supreme junta was established in the city of Caraccas. Of this we have already spoken. The first act of this assembly was the arrest of the captain general, or governor, and of the members of his council, (audiencia) who were afterwards conveyed to the United States. It then commenced its relation with the English government, to which it communicated all the political changes which it introduced into the administration of the province or particular district of Caraccas. The example of this district was soon followed by the others of the

capitanerie general, all of which formed juntas in imitation of Caraccas. The junta formed at Guayana at first acknowledged the supremacy of that of Caraccas; but soon after it determined to acknowledge no authority but that of the regency of Cadiz. It was influenced in this determination by the European Spaniards, whose number in the junta was greater than that of the Americans. The juntas of Verinas and of Cumana sent deputies to Caraccas, less to recognize the junta of that city, than to solicit the convocation of a congress for the whole province or capitanerie general. The district of Maracaibo had retained its governor D. Fernando Myares, who, adverse to the innovations of Caraccas, dismissed with menaces the deputies of the new government. These were arrested at Coro, and afterwards cast into a dungeon at Puerto Rico, whence they were, a long time after, released by the intervention of the English admiral, Sir Alexander Cochrane.

Although the junta of Caraccas had informed the regency of Cadiz of the reasons which led to the establishment of an order of things by which their rights, and those of the imprisoned monarch were protected, and in spite of the offer made by this assembly to contribute their whole power to sustain the war against France, it has been already seen that the Spanish provisional government had declared all the ports of Venezuela in a state of blockade. Soon after the same governor of Maracaibo, Myares, who had so ill-treated the deputies of the junta of Caraccas, was appointed, by the regency, captain general of Venezuela.

Hostilities between the junta and the governor Myares commenced in the month of November, 1810. The insurgent government organized a military force

of three thousand men, the command of which was entrusted to the Marquis del Toro. This general entered the territory of the department of Coro, a district of Maracaibo, but he was obliged to retire, in consequence of having neglected to take a military position from Carora, the point from which he had departed. This expedition, though fruitless, proved that the new government could raise an army, deficient neither in discipline nor in courage.

General Miranda, known in the history of the French revolution, from having served in the army of Dumourier, and by his conduct at the battle of Nerwinde, in 1793, departed from London, about the end of the year 1810, to offer his services to the Spanish Americans in the cause of their independence.* England favored the projects of this intriguing general who, it is well known, was born in Peru. The junta of Caraccas, however, did not view with pleasure the arrival of Miranda. They feared that, by receiving him, they should act in contradiction to the principles they had avowed, and by which, they always appeared to acknowledge the authority of king Ferdinand VII. The crafty Peruvian secured his nomination as member of the commission appointed to propose the plan of a constitution to the congress; but, differing in opinion from his colleagues, he presented one which approached nearer to the colonial system of the old Spanish government. This last circumstance drew

* Miranda had already attempted in 1806 to provoke Venezuela to an insurrection; but his expedition, undertaken at the expense of England, completely failed. We think it irrelevant to enter into any detail on this attempt.

upon him a great number of enemies, who were not able to prevent his securing his nomination as member of the congress, by the department of Arequita.

The congress of Venezuela, formed in April, 1811, soon divided itself, like all constituent assemblies, into two decidedly opposite parties. One, which was the more numerous, wished for independence, and the other, a reunion with the mother-country. Miranda, availing himself of the experience he had acquired in the French revolution, succeeded in establishing a patriotic society, similar to that of the jacobins at Paris, in 1791, to strengthen the independent party to which he attached himself in the assembly.

A provisional executive power, composed of three members, was organized by the congress; but it was so singularly fettered in the exercise of its authority, that it was destitute of vigor and energy.

The congress declared the independence of Venezuela the 5th July, 1811, in the midst, if I may be allowed the expression, of the conspiracies formed for its destruction, both at Caraccas, and in other parts of the new state. General del Toro was sent against the city of Valencia, thirty-eight leagues from Caraccas, and which was in a state of revolt excited by the Spanish royalists, seconded by the principal part of the inhabitants, who were desirous of forming an independent government, and at the same time, a new province. The Marquis del Toro, at first, repulsed some troops with which the royalists opposed his passage, but he was almost immediately superseded in his command by Miranda, in whose experience the government of Caraccas placed a greater degree of confidence. The new general, although he forced the city of Valencia,

was unable to maintain himself there, in consequence of the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants intrenched in the towers of their churches, and under the roofs of their houses. The independent army sustained a great loss, particularly in officers, and was obliged to retire four leagues from the town, to Mariana, on the road to Caraccas. Having received reinforcements, Miranda again marched towards Valencia, which was taken towards the latter end of August.

After long debates, the congress, at last, presented for the acceptance of the people, a constitution developed in nine chapters. The Roman catholic religion declared the religion of the state; the federal representation divided into two chambers; the executive power confided to three persons appointed by the electoral colleges: such were the principal parts which formed the basis of the new Venezuelan charter. Valencia was chosen for the residence of the authorities of the confederation, who were installed in March, 1812.

At this period, the government of the new state appeared prosperous, the public opinion was unanimous, and an armed force was organized to maintain this order of things; even commerce revived. In the mean time, the districts of Guayana and Maracaibo were still under the Spanish yoke, although the constitution admitted them to a share of the federation. General Morepo was sent with three thousand men to the banks of the Orinoco, to observe the royalists of Guayana, and, in case of urgency, to attack them in the cities of Guayana and Angostura, the inhabitants of which appeared attached to the republican party, without, however, daring to declare themselves. Colonel Xalon, with five hundred experienced troops,

occupied Barquesimeto, to defend the republican territory against the attack of the royalists of Coro. But a convulsion of nature suddenly destroyed this state of prosperity; the elements, by a very extraordinary fatality, seemed to favor the wishes of the enemies of independence. March 26, 1812, the day before Good Friday, between the hours of four and five in the evening, a terrible earthquake, a phenomenon unfortunately too frequent in this part of the globe, overturned, in a moment, the whole province of Venezuela. More than twenty thousand persons perished from the effect of this unexpected misfortune, which lasted but one minute and fifteen seconds. The cities of Caraccas, Guayara, Mayquetio, Merida and San Felipe were nearly destroyed. Barquesimeto, Valencia, and Victoria sustained great injury. Arms and ammunition of all kinds, intended for the defence of the country, were buried under the ruins. Could fanaticism avoid profiting by so favorable a circumstance?

It will easily be conceived that a constitution founded upon democratical principles, must have had, among the ministers of religion, many enemies on account of the changes introduced into the privileges of the clergy. Immediately after the earthquake, the priests proclaimed aloud that God had just manifested his anger; that he condemned the revolution, and that divine wrath could not be appeased but by an immediate return to the former order of things.

The multitude were easily persuaded to adopt an opinion supported by proofs of so awful a nature, and although a small number of men of enlightened minds were unintimidated by an event, the physical cause of

which was known to them, a general change of opinion soon took place in favor of Spain. On the other hand, the royalists of Coro, on the day the earthquake happened, took possession of Corora, a frontier city of the new republic; and at the time when Colonel Xelon was preparing to march against them from Barquesimeto, where he was stationed, the greater number [of his soldiers were buried in the barracks, which fell in at the moment of departure; Xelon himself was severely wounded.

The congress found no better expedient to attempt their extrication from so critical a position, than that adopted in similar cases by republics. They invested the members of the government with dictatorial power, and adjourned their own meetings, that the deputies might serve in the army, or return to the provinces, there to awaken the national energy. Miranda was now appointed general in chief with full powers.

General Monteverde commanded the royalists of Coro. He had marched from Corora, after the taking of that city, against Barquesimeto, which he entered without resistance. His army was reinforced by the inhabitants of the country, whom the earthquake had converted to the royal cause. The town of Araure on the road which leads from Barquesimeto to Caraccas, and where there was a detachment of the republican army, commanded by D. Palacio Sojo, opened its gates to Monteverde. The soldiers of Sojo had refused to fight, and he was their prisoner. After a very easy march, the royalist general attacked the city of San-Carlos, defended by Carabano, who, for some time, resisted with success; but his cavalry having deserted to the enemy after the last engagement, the colonel of

the independents was obliged to cede the victory to his adversary. In the mean time, Monteverde had sent a small body of troops, to occupy the district of Varinas which abounded in provisions and cattle; a powerful resource for the expedition of the royalists. Varinas had equipped a part of the troops, sent by the congress on the banks of the Orinoco, under the orders of General Moreno.

The progress of the army of Monteverde obliged the republican troops to evacuate Valencia, and the generalissimo Miranda concentrated his forces in the defile of Cabreza, near the lake Tacarigua or Valencia. Cabrera is a very narrow passage between two rocks, upon the road which leads to Caraccas, by the mountains of that name. This was an excellent position for arresting the progress of the hostile army, and preventing the attack of Caraccas on the west. But Monteverde having bribed some inhabitants of the canton, they discovered to him an unknown way, by which, in spite of many natural obstacles, he succeeded in turning the defile of Cabrera. Miranda retired upon the town of Victoria, sixty leagues from Leon of Caraccas, in a valley situated between the rivers of Tuy and Aragua. The independent general was pursued in his retreat, but he overcame the royalists, who lost a considerable number of men.

After these battles, Miranda re-established some discipline in his army, whilst the government was restoring order in Caraccas. A new event, however, once more counteracted the effect of these favorable circumstances. The prisoners, taken by the independents from the royalists, had been confined in the citadel of Puerto Cabello. Favored by the commander,

they seized upon this place of detention, and compelled Colonel Simon Bolívar, who commanded in Puerto Cabello, and who, it will soon be seen, acted a much more important part, to evacuate that city, and with his officers to repair by sea to Guayra. This surprise threw the republican army into a state of discouragement, which was increased, not only by the enemy having thus secured a great quantity of ammunition, of which they were entirely destitute, but because they were enabled to open a quicker communication by sea: for hitherto, his reinforcements had been obliged to come by land, at a distance of more than a hundred and fifty leagues.

Monteverde neglected nothing to avail himself of this advantage, which he was far from expecting, and new shocks of an earthquake added still to the justly excited terror of the republicans. The royalists were near Caraccas, and threatened to complete the ruin of this unhappy city, should they be compelled to take it by force. In this extremity, sanctioned by the executive power, Miranda proposed a capitulation which was accepted. The terms were—

That the constitution offered by the Cortes to the Spanish nation, should be established at Caraccas;—that no one should be molested for his opinions;—that all property should be respected;—and that every one should be at liberty to quit the territory of Venezuela whenever he pleased.

The royalist army entered Caraccas, and that of the republicans was disbanded. Miranda and many other citizens took refuge in Guayra, with the intention of embarking for Carthagena; but they were arrested by the governor of the former of these towns,

D. Casas, and thrown into the dungeons at Guayra and Puerto Cabello. Many other patriots were sent to Puerto Rico, or transported to Cadiz. These last were condemned by the cortes to perpetual imprisonment at Ceuta in Africa, whence they effected their escape. Having arrived at Gibraltar, the governor of this place had the baseness to deliver them up to the Spaniards, and it was only in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the English ambassador to the court of Madrid, that they recovered their liberty, * the minister of Great Britain having disapproved of the conduct of the governor of Gibraltar. Four European Spaniards, a part of those who had fled there and who were delivered up by the governor, have been five years imprisoned at Ceuta.

The troops of the independents, in other parts of the province, were not more successful than those of Miranda. Moreno completely failed in his expedition against Guayana; one part of the army, under the command of General Paredes, in the department of Merilla and Truxillo, was defeated by the troops sent from Maracaibo. But in recovering possession of Venezuela, the Spanish government violated all the articles of the capitulation concluded between Miranda and Monteverde; instead of adopting measures of mildness and clemency, the only object of their agents was to gratify their vindictive passions. Every royalist turned informer, and every man suspected of an attachment to independence became a victim. A great number of houses supplied the place of prisons,

* Towards the month of July, 1816.

which soon overflowed with denounced patriots. The effect of these rigorous measures which were approved of by the cortes, was the incarceration of the greater part of the local population; and in the mean while, the minister of war, Don Juan O'Donojou (by birth an Irishman) loudly complained, at the meeting of the 2d of October, 1813, "of the indulgence which had been shewn to the insurgents of Caraccas."

The conduct, however, of the royalists revived the courage of the partisans of independence in the districts distant from Caraccas. That of Cumana was the first to cast off the yoke of the ferocious Monteverde. An active and enterprising young man, named Mareno, collected a certain number of malcontents, and took possession of the city of Maturin. The royalists, who attempted to retake this post, were repeatedly repulsed, and Monteverde himself was not more successful than his officers in an attack which he made in April, 1813.

Colonel Simon Bolivar had not approved the capitulation concluded by Miranda. After the entrance of Monteverde into Caraccas, he obtained from the royalist general, to whom he was well known, a passport for the isle of Curaçao. From this point, Bolivar went to Carthagena, which still adhered to the republican party, and he was there nominated to the command of a division, with which he marched against the city of Ocana. From this city, of which he rendered himself master, he had dispatched his lieutenant, Colonel Rivas, to the congress of New Grenada, a province of the Spanish dominion which had likewise effected its revolution, as we shall subsequently relate. This congress, held in the city of Tunja, received the

deputy of Bolivar whom they supplied with a reinforcement, which augmented his army to six thousand effective men. With this army, Bolivar considered himself able to restore his country to independence. He surprised and defeated the royalists at Cucuta. One of his colonels, Nicolas Bricono, invaded, with a body of cavalry, the district of Varinas, whilst Bolivar took possession of the arrondissement of Merida, after defeating the enemy at Grita. A short time afterwards the royalists retaliated. Bricono was defeated, made prisoner with seven of his officers, and put to death by Tiscar, the royalist general at Varinas. This conduct irritated Bolivar, who declared that he would make reprisals. From that time, a war of extermination took place on both sides; *guerra a moorte*, was the common device.

After many advantages gained over the army of Monteverde, Bolivar approached Caraccas and forced the commandant of that city to a capitulation. The latter, without waiting the result of the negotiation, abandoned the city. He embarked for Guayra, carrying with him whatever he could take from the government and individuals, and left the garrison, and the royalists, about fifteen hundred men, in the power of an irritated conqueror. Bolivar entered Caraccas on the 4th of August, 1813. His troops were received by a very great majority of the inhabitants, as their liberators. The prisons were opened, and all that had survived the severity of detention, were restored to their relations and friends, in the midst of the acclamations of a people intoxicated with joy, and loading Bolivar with blessings. Notwithstanding the irritation of the multitude, no Spaniard was insulted.

The city of Puerto Cabello was the only one remaining in the power of Monteverde towards the close of the year 1813. All the other parts of the Venezuelan republic had been freed by the achievements of Bolivar and young Marino. In the mean time, Monteverde shut up in Puerto Cabello, refused to exchange the Creoles confined in this place for the Spaniards who were in the hands of Bolivar.

Some time after, the royalist general received a Spanish reinforcement of twelve hundred men, with which he thought himself sufficiently strong to make a sortie, and attack the republicans near Aguas Caliente. But he was defeated and compelled to re-enter Puerto Cabello with the feeble wreck of his troops, which he confided to Brigadier Salomon, together with the command of the place. Bolivar renewed to Salomon the proposal of an exchange ; but the latter, still more haughty and severe than Monteverde, threw into prison the Venezuelan bearer of the proposal, who was a priest estimable for the mildness of his disposition and his other virtues. Salomon was soon replaced by a certain Istuela, a man of a ferocious and sanguinary character, who, during the day, exposed his American prisoners to the fire of the republican batteries, and at night heaped them up in the pontoons, where they died of suffocation. The besiegers having also made reprisals, by exposing their prisoners before the trenches, Istuela one day ordered four prisoners to be placed in front of the troops and shot, in sight of their fellow-citizens. Bolivar, who was besieging Puerto Cabello by sea and land, having succeeded in getting possession of a great part of the city, the citadel alone remained to the Spaniards, and the general declined carrying it by storm,

in consequence of the resolution of the troops which defended it. It was likewise provided with abundance of provisions of all kinds.

In the mean time, the royalists of Coro, having received reinforcements from Puerto Rico, took the field under the command of Cevallos, attacked and defeated the republicans at Barquesimeto, on the 10th of November. Bolivar, having entrusted the siege of the citadel of Puerto Cabello to a young officer named Deluyar, hastened to the succour of the vanquished troops, and overthrew the Spaniards at Virgirima, Barbula and Araure, on the 5th of December. This advantage cost Bolivar the loss of one of his most valuable officers, the young Girozdet, a Frenchman by birth, and celebrated for many splendid actions. The general was deeply affected by the death of this brave officer, slain in fighting for the cause of independence, and gave him the surname of *Liberator de Venezuela*, in an order of the day, by which he prescribed to the army an annual mourning in commemoration of this melancholy event. A perpetual pension was assigned to the family of Girozdet, at the request of Bolivar. A battalion having betrayed some irresolution when the royalists attacked Barquesimeto, Bolivar, on his arrival, took from them their muskets, for which he substituted pikes. This battalion defeated a battalion of the enemy, seized their muskets, and, by this heroic act, effaced the stain which had before disgraced them.

Bolivar, after recovering the territory of Venezuela, evinced no solicitude to re-establish the congress of that republic, according to his promise to the congress

of New Grenada, on receiving the last reinforcement sent by that state. Caraccas continued under military government till the end of 1813. Compelled, however, by murmurs, arising from all quarters, to convoke an assembly composed of magistrates, dignitaries, ecclesiastics, municipal officers, members of colleges, and councils of commerce, he resigned to them the supreme authority, after having given a detailed account of his operations. On the representation of the governor of the city of Caraccas, Don Hurtado de Mendoza,* who demonstrated the necessity of leaving the supreme command of the republic to Bolivar, until the union of Venezuela with New Grenada, under the same representative form of government, and till the Spaniards should be completely subdued and the Guerillas destroyed, the assembly determined to continue the commander in chief in the exercise of the dictatorial power.

The Spanish royalists, despairing of reducing the province of Venezuela, by their own force, had recourse to a means of no inconsiderable influence. This was to introduce into the countries desirous of withdrawing from their dominion, the troubles and calamities of civil war. Wretches of the most infamous character were secretly sent into the interior, to excite to insurrection not only the slaves, by promising them liberty, but likewise all the vagabonds, all the dregs of the people, who were easily allured by the offer of plundering the rich. Bands were organized at several points, and the cities and places destitute of defence were

* Now minister plenipotentiary, for the republic of Colombia, to his Britannic majesty.

attacked by these hordes of robbers and assassins, whose chiefs were Puy, Palomo, Boves, Rosette, and Janes. Whole districts were massacred. The year 1813, in particular, was distinguished for the horrible excesses of the Guerillas. At the news of the victory obtained at Araure by Bolivar, Puy ordered to be shot, without trial, and almost at the same instant, five hundred inhabitants of Varinas, to which place that tiger had retreated. The imagination can scarcely conceive what the gazettes and private correspondence report concerning the atrocious conduct of these banditti. In the space of four hundred miles, i. e. from the river Orinoko to the borders of Caraccas, all that refused to join them were massacred, not a single human creature being spared. It was thus that Boves and Rosette formed a band of eight thousand individuals, among whom were scarcely fifty Europeans, or Spaniards of the Canaries ; all the rest being either people of colour or slaves.

(To be continued.)

BULLETIN OF THE PRESENT WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA.

London has recently been the theatre of an audacious fabrication, in reference to the war in Peru. Men, in whose estimation tranquillity is a real misfortune, and whose cupidity ill accords with the regular and foreseen course of affairs, have had the effrontery to create events, and to circulate, as facts, reports of their own invention, for which they might have been sentenced to the pillory. But this was of little consequence, to these artful swindlers, after having played off their tricks at the London Exchange, they could have retired, during the disorder occasioned by a first surprise, loaded with booty, and laughing at the success of their stratagem, in imitation of those honest men who cry out fire! for the purpose of plundering the terrified multitude. Fortunately, the tale reported in London, respecting the pretended defeat of Bolivar, produced but a slight depression in the American funds. Yet, this stock-jobbing trick, however contemptible, proves to what extent a few defrauders may impose upon the simplicity of persons, who, they imagine, have no very extensive information respecting what is taking place on the distant theatre of war. Reasoning upon this principle, what was their calculation? "Peru," they would say, "is distant; the intervening seas permit neither the names of the generals, nor the positions of the armies to be known to the greater

number of speculators, who are easily frightened; and it is not impossible that superior strength and skill may experience a reverse. Now let us assert that the army of Bolivar and the independence of America have been annihilated. Facts and geography may, it is true, contradict this assertion. In four days it may be ascertained that the wreck of the Spanish army has yielded to the valour of the heroes of Colombia, and that the lingering existence of the Spanish power in Peru, its last refuge, has terminated by a sudden and unexpected blow: but it signifies little to us that the public be undeceived to-morrow, provided we reap to-day the benefit of the false alarm we have given."

We shall not waste our time in refuting the absurdity of this pretended defeat, invented by the most ungovernable cupidity. Truth and public opinion have detected and punished it. In fact, the English government removed all doubt, when it declared, through the medium of Mr. Canning, that, "previously to the success of that army (the Colombian army in Peru), *of which the ministers had now full information*, to have acknowledged the complete independence of Colombia would have been contrary to fact." We shall only add that this should teach speculators not to place implicit confidence in news concerning America.

By considering the moment when the report of Bolivar's defeat was circulated, is it not probable that the authors of this fabrication were not confined to the London stock-jobbers, and that this Panama is nothing else than the Fauxbourg St. Germain, where independence is not much relished? The Courier himself exclaimed with an admirable simplicity,

“What a pity Mr. Canning chose this moment for treating with the American states!” But it will perhaps be said, that the discovery of the truth would soon disturb this short-lived joy. We admit it; and yet, what is there, however absurd and contemptible, that may not be attributed to a piqued ministry, living only upon deception.

Had, however, the defeat of Bolivar been as real as his triumph is certain, would this event have been any other than one of those viscissitudes which are inseparable from a state of war? or would the cause of American liberty have fallen with the hero who defends it? Such an assertion must, indeed, imply an extraordinary degree of ignorance; for never was a war less dependent on the result of a battle. It is not with America as with Europe, where the hired soldier fights to earn the morsel of bread bestowed upon him by the hand of tyranny, and to promote the interests of a few individuals whose oppression draws upon them the curse of nations; so that a reverse must always be fatal to a cause which has only mercenaries for its support. But in America, the war of independence is founded in the interests, in the wants, in the affections, in the heart of every individual; and under this important point of view, it possesses the immense advantage of being able to survive repeated defeats, and of annihilating its enemies by a single victory. Admit that Bolivar falls, and that his army is beaten; America would certainly have sustained a great loss;—yet, undismayed, and immoveable at the tombs of the brave men who fought for her, she would not want new defenders. But should Canterac fall, or his soldiers be defeated, where would the Spanish tyranny in

America find new combatants to join its standards? The conclusions from this reasoning are so evident, that we will now advert to the military movements which have taken place since the publication of our preceding Number.

The theatre of war which, some months ago, extended beyond Peru, is now entirely circumscribed within the limits of this country. The surrender of Pernambuco to the imperial army, the dispersion of the remains of the army deserted by Carvalho, and the last expedition of Lord Cochrane, whose appearance at Bahia was alone sufficient to extirpate the last germ of discord, and to bring back to Rio de Janeiro the chiefs of the sedition, with their arms, and the various ammunition in their possession; these circumstances have removed every symptom of civil war, and restored Brasil to the enjoyment of internal repose, which, in fact, has never been very seriously threatened, since the establishment of the new order of things. The government, however, of his Imperial Majesty neglects no means calculated to maintain its tranquillity at home, and to secure its independence abroad. The organization of the army is continued with activity, and we are assured that, in its present state, it may rival in discipline and stability the best troops in Europe. The government has just authorized the minister of war to complete the purchase of twelve thousand muskets, giving, however, the preference to the English manufactures, principally those of Messrs. Samuel and Phillips, and of William Young. The minister of war has also provided barracks for three thousand German emigrants, who arrived at Rio de Janeiro, on board the *Anna Louisa*, from Ham-

burgh; and orders have been given, on this occasion, to Mr. Miranda, inspector of the foreign settlers, to refer to the recruiting office such foreigners as he may judge capable of military service. All these measures bespeak, on the part of the government, a firm determination to accept laws from no power whatever, and to secure to its regeneration an efficient defence. Under this double point of view, every friend of independence and rational liberty will applaud these measures of vigour and precaution. But, has the army a greater claim to the attention of the Brazilian government than its naval force? Certainly not; we think, on the contrary, that Brasil, by its geographical division, is naturally led to seek, in the increase of its maritime power, one of the first guarantees of its internal and external security. And in looking at the map of Brasil, it will be seen, that, whilst the squadrons of this empire constitute almost its whole force of offensive and defensive war, they are also its most efficient spring of central power, and the safest means of cementing the principle of unity which now collects the different provinces of the empire around the constitutional throne.

Hence, sound policy, founded on local interests, particularly prescribes to Brasil to direct its attention to the increase of its navy, and to exert for it more, and even greater efforts than for its land forces. And, in that respect, the success which will crown the exertions of the government is as evident as the necessity which enjoins them; for the organization of the naval force of the states being, by its nature, much more compatible with the admission of foreigners than the army, which is always in immediate contact with the

natives, it is beyond a doubt, that as soon as the Brazilian government, the character of which now bears the impression of power and stability, shall offer to foreign sailors a just, honorable, and certain compensation for their services, they will hasten to join the flag where they may expect advantage and protection. How useful such auxiliaries have already been to the independence of southern America, and to that of Brasil in particular, is known to every one. To whom, in fact, is to be ascribed the success of Bahia, and the prompt suppression of the troubles of Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, &c.? Besides, the talents of the minister, upon whom devolves this important department of the national power of Brasil, is a proof that his Imperial Majesty has been impressed with these considerations, and that the wishes we have formed will soon be realized.

BUENOS AYRES.—The military, or rather the political measures which the government of this republic thought proper to adopt fifteen months past, to oppose the incursion with which some Indian hordes threaten the frontiers of the union, have been followed by the most satisfactory results; and the adoption of some vigorous measures has been sufficient to awe these savages, and compel them to return to order. The army of observation at Salta, under the command of General Orenales, to act in opposition to the Spanish army, in Upper Peru, should the latter obtain any advantage over the Independents, is completely organized, and ready to pass the frontier. We are even assured that General Olaneta has effected his junction with the general of Buenos Ayres, and that

their united forces had commenced their operations on the rear of the Spanish army. Our correspondent at Buenos Ayres confirms the truth of this junction; but he adds, and we believe with him, that this army of observation will remain stationary, because it is clearly proved, that the successes obtained in Lower Peru by the army of Bolivar, render his co-operation perfectly useless.

CHILI.—The friends of American independence observe with pleasure, that the instability which still prevails in the interior organization of Chili, and of which we complained in another part of this Journal, has not rendered less active its co-operation in the cause of the general liberty. It is particularly by the navy and by its unceasing efforts to increase its power, that the Chilean government distinguishes itself in the present struggle. The appearance of the Spanish vessels, the *Asia* and the *Achilles*, before Callao, has redoubled the ardor of the executive power. The 6th of November, a new Chilean fleet consisting of the *O'Higgins* frigate, the *Chacabuco*, corvette, the *Galvarino* brig of eighteen guns, and the *Montezuma* schooner, sailed from Valparaiso, to join the squadron of Admiral Gaise, who is blockading the port of Callao; there is no doubt that the destruction of the Spanish squadron will be the immediate result of the junction of these forces. Already, on the 11th of October, an engagement had taken place between this squadron and the independent fleet, an account of which is to be found in a letter already inserted in a morning paper, and all the details of which are confirmed to us, by our private correspondent.

Extract of a Letter from Valparaiso, dated November 20th, 1824.

“ You have of course heard of the arrival of the Spanish line-of-battle ship *Asia*, and the brig *Achilles*, in Callao, having refused to give Admiral Guise battle, who was blockading the said port with one frigate. The Colombian squadron, consisting of five small vessels, shortly after joined him, and he resumed the blockade. On the 11th ult. the Spanish squadron, consisting of the *Asia* and five large vessels, and a posse of gun-boats, got under weigh before day-light; Guise had scarcely time to cut his cables and proceed to sea with his flotilla. Admiral Guise's object seems to have been to get the Spanish squadron to sea, as well to get rid of the gun-boats, as to render useless the musquetry, concluding that seasickness, and the motion of the ship, would render in great part useless the soldiery, with which the enemy's decks were crowded. The *Asia's* sailing was superior, and Guise, after receiving several shot, made the signal for action within pistol-shot: however, the enemy's musquetry galled him so, that he was obliged to haul off a little. The action commenced at 11 A. M.; and continued till 3 P. M., when the *Asia* and the rest of the squadron stood in for the harbour again; and next day the *Asia* was seen with her mainmast hoisted out. Guise immediately resumed the blockade. With the exception of the *Asia's* mainmast being wounded, we do not know what damage each party may have received, as the vessel sailed before particulars could be ascertained. Guise had scarcely three hundred men on board his frigate; the *Asia* had, besides her crew, three hundred soldiers. On the 6th inst. sailed from this port, four of the Chili squadron, namely, the *O'Higgins* frigate, *Chacabuco* corvette, *Galvarino*, eighteen gun brig, and *Montezuma* schooner; they proceed to form a junction with Guise, and the destruction of the Spanish squadron is looked upon as certain. The *Santara*

and the *Independencia* will sail in a few days ; it is supposed their station will be off Chiloe, to intercept any vessels that may be coming from Spain."

COLOMBIA—For a considerable time the territory of the republic of Colombia has ceased to be the theatre of hostility ; its independence is accomplished ; and it is the plains of Peru which now witness the triumph of the armed citizens by whom it has been consolidated. The interior military system of the republic is improving and extending with incredible rapidity. We have before us a detailed account from the Colombian minister of war, of which we will give the substance in our next Number, which proves that all the branches of the military administration have already been carried to a degree of perfection, which might excite the envy of many of the absolute governments of the Old World. It is interesting to see with what wisdom these republicans, although surrounded by troubles and dangers, have formed their military system, and upon principles uniting the interests of the whole of the nation without wounding the liberty of any body. To this may be added, the increase of all the means of attack and defence, and the creation of an army, the first basis and principal strength of which consists in the observance of the strictest discipline. The report of the minister relates to the military organization of the republic, that is, its division into provinces or military departments, to which division his Excellency attributes the admirable order which prevails in the whole extent of the republican territory. The organization of the infantry, consisting of twenty-seven battalions of the line, and five of light troops,

forming an aggregate of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty men; the organization of the cavalry, divided into twenty-four squadrons, forming together four thousand two hundred and ninety-six men; the organization of the artillery, divided into twenty companies, forming together two thousand five hundred and twenty men; the organization of the staffs, reduced upon a principle which renders them the least numerous and the most economical possible; the organization of the guard of honor of the government, composed of ten battalions of infantry, and six squadrons of cavalry, "and which," says the minister, "does not enjoy any other privilege than that of its corps being reckoned the eldest in the army, that of furnishing, exclusively, the guard of honor of the government, and of being the first to march against the enemy in cases of emergency." His Excellency then adverts to the organization of the military administration, the defects of which he candidly admits, and recommends its reformation. The army is regularly clothed, but not, perhaps, so uniformly as it ought to be. The minister thinks that the mode of distributing the pay ought to be changed, and that the intendants and paymasters, who are exclusively attached to the public treasury, should, in future, depend on the war department, for the settling of their accounts. His Excellency thinks also that a strict regulation ought to be established respecting dress, in order to abolish the luxury and inequality of the uniforms. The state of the armament is complete, each foot soldier being supplied with a musket, and each horse soldier with a carbine, a sabre and a lance. "This formidable weapon," says the minister, "has been the sheet anchor of the

republic, and the divine instrument of her salvation." Besides, there are in the arsenals more than twenty thousand muskets; but his Excellency adds, that this armament requires improvement, the muskets having been obtained by degrees, and not of the best kind, but those which were most easy to be had.

"The militia which, when well constituted," says the minister, "is the best reserve for the army, and can be the most solid foundation of the public liberties and national independence, and which preserves the medium between the military life; because, in the very bosom of peace and their families, without separating them from their domestic cares, all the citizens become excellent soldiers, and the state reckons on these defenders without making the pecuniary sacrifices which veteran corps require." The militia of Colombia is composed of all the men capable of bearing arms, from the age of fifteen to forty; but his Excellency complains bitterly of the disorder which prevails in the organization of this important part of the public force. In short, the minister of war, at the conclusion of his report to the congress, presents successively the situation of the retired invalids, the state of the fortresses, of the parks, of the barracks, and powder manufactories; that also of every thing which relates to the instruction of the troops, to military legislation, and to the operations of the active army. His Excellency mentions, with a noble frankness, the improvements to be made, and the abuses to be reformed, in each of these branches of the war department, of which he speaks in terms of praise or blame, with equal impartiality.

PERU.—It is still the vast plains of Peru that exhibit the efforts which are now deciding, or rather which

have already decided, the destinies of America, and perhaps those of the whole world. Peru is the only theatre in which the enemies of American independence dare shew themselves in arms. Our readers will recollect the respective position of the belligerent armies as described in our preceding Number. At this period, Olaneta, whose head quarters were at Tarija, was harassing the army of Valdes in Upper Peru, blocking up the road from Oxeiro to Cochabanda, and keeping in check the Viceroy La Serna.

In Lower Peru we left the army of the President Bolivar, after the brilliant achievement of the 6th of August, in the plains of Junin, pursuing the army of General Canterac to the valley of Sauja, one of the richest and most fertile provinces in Peru. The enemy, threatened with an almost inevitable ruin, continued his retreat towards Huanca-velica, where Canterac, for a short time, established his head quarters, and was waiting for the Viceroy La Serna, who was hastening to join him at that point. The two Spanish generals soon effected a junction at Amahuyelos. By this retrograde movement, the Spanish army lost six of the most extensive provinces of Peru, and abandoned to the independents all its ammunition at Huarangua, a city which was surprised by the vanguard of the liberating army, and where General Bolivar established his head quarters, towards the end of August. This powerful army, consisting, then, of almost fifteen thousand men, observed the strictest discipline, and was waiting for a body of five thousand men on their march from Panama, for the purpose of joining it. In the mean time, Admiral Guise, at the head of a Peruvian squadron, had recommenced the blockade of Callao,

which had been, for a short time, raised by the arrival of the Spanish vessels, the *Asia* and the *Achilles*. It was then that the Spanish general Rodil, who, after sending his cavalry to the relief of Canterac and La Serna, had shut himself up in Callao, published the following proclamation, in which, through the veil of Spanish pride, it is easy to perceive the fears of this officer.

**“ THE BRIGADIER OF THE ROYAL ARMIES, DON JOSE RAMON RODIL,
GOVERNOR OF CALLAO, COMMANDANT-GENERAL AND INTENDANT
OF THE PROVINCE OF LIMA, TO ITS INHABITANTS.**

“ Inhabitants of Lima!—Inseparable from the language of truth which distinguishes the legitimate government of Peru, I am going to speak to you with the sincerity which my post and my character require.

“ Our army of the north has made a reconnoissance of the enemy, and on the 6th instant there was a partial conflict of cavalry in the Pampas de Reyes, by the result of which nothing more was decided than the proposed object. I am anxious, moreover, in order to remove from your minds every melancholy idea, and to render you proof against the fabrications of the enemy, to inform you that the General-in-Chief, Don Jose Canterac, returned to the positions which he had occupied the day before, and where he expects the Viceroy, and Major-General Valdez, if they have not already joined him. They set out on the 5th inst. from the capital of Cusco. In consequence of this information, in the name of his Excellency the Viceroy, I recommend to you, and exact from you, the courage and conduct becoming your situation, which, if it corresponds with your duty, will be duly estimated by his Excellency and the chiefs under his command, who are pledged to support your virtues and your honor; but

if, unfortunately, such is not the case, you will answer for yourselves.

“ Receive this explanation with the indulgence which it deserves, and believe that nobody desires more your good than he who now addresses you.

(Signed)

JOSE RAMON RODIL.

Royal Philip de Callao, Aug. 18, 1824.

On his side the President Bolivar addressed to his army the following proclamation, which expresses both the enthusiasm of glory, and the consciousness of superior strength.

“ SOLDIERS,

“ You will soon terminate the greatest enterprise ever confided to men ; you are going to save a whole world from slavery. Soldiers, the enemy against whom you are preparing to fight, boasts of fourteen years triumph ; he is therefore, worthy of contending in arms with you, whose brilliant achievements have distinguished you in a thousand battles. Peru and all America are expecting peace, as the fruit of victory ; and Europe, liberal in her sentiments, fixes her attention upon you with pleasure, because the liberty of the New World is the hope of the universe : will you disappoint her ? No ! no ! You are invincible.”

“ BOLIVAR.”

It will naturally be inferred that this energetic proclamation was the precursor of a decisive engagement, the result of which appeared so certain, in the opinion of the Liberator, that he wrote thus to the minister of state for Peru.

“ Confiding in the means his Excellency (Bolivar) has

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taken to destroy them (the enemy) at one blow, his Excellency desires me to assure you, that whatever the final combinations of the Spanish chiefs, whatever their hopes, the liberty of Peru shall be completed this year, and irrevocably confirmed by the liberating army." *

Huanta, the 27th of August.

The following proclamation of Bolívar to the people of Peru, is, also, very important and very curious from the positive terms in which he speaks of the co-operation of Olaneta with the patriots: the following is that part of the proclamation which relates to Olaneta:

"The Spaniards are flying in consternation, abandoning their most fertile provinces, whilst General Olaneta occupies Upper-Peru, with an army of true patriots, and true protectors of liberty. Peruvians! two powerful enemies are attacking the Spaniards of Peru, the united army, and the army of the brave Olaneta, who, driven to despair by the Spanish tyranny, has shaken off its yoke, and is fighting with the greatest resolution against the enemies of America, who are become his own. General Olaneta and his illustrious companions are worthy of the gratitude of America. They have unequivocal claims to the most splendid rewards. Peru and the whole of America acknowledge also in General Olaneta one of its liberators.†

From the different letters, written from the theatre of war, and from some other communications in our

* Despatch from Tomes de Heres, General Bolívar's secretary, to Dr. Don Jose Sanchez Carrion, minister of state, for Peru.

Huanta, 27th August.

† The whole of this proclamation will be found in the *Patriote de Guayaquil*, of the 2d of October.

possession, it appears that the Spanish army continues its retreat towards Cusco, with the ostensible intention of passing the Apurimac,* in that direction, whilst the independent army advanced with forced marches upon Chuquibamba, where it had fixed its head quarters before the 4th of October last. General Canterac passed the Apurimac, destroying all the bridges behind him, and proceeding from south to north, in the direction of the mountains.

The following were the movements of the liberating army since the 6th of August, as detailed in three official documents, which we give to our readers, word for word, on account of the great interest they excite.

“The 9th it occupied Tarma, the 11th Janja, and the 14th Huancayo. The enemy retired by the road of Ischuchaca, breaking down the bridge there), and cutting away the four others on the same river. Ours pursued their movement by Pampos, having re-established the bridge at Magoe, by which we passed. The 22d we entered Huanta, and the 24th occupied that capital. General Canterac, who then remained at three leagues thence, immediately hastened his retreat, without reconnoitring those who pursued him. No doubt he fears to meet a new Junin, and to terminate his campaign by mak-

* The Amazon, the largest river in the world, rises in Peru, between two ridges of the Andes in about lat. 15° south, under the name of the Apurimac, and, after running in a northerly direction through five degrees of latitude, is joined by other branches and forms the Ucayale. The Ucayale runs north 6° more, and unites with the Tumburagua and forms the Amazon; it runs in a direction a little north of east, completely across the continent, and discharges its waters under the equator by a mouth a hundred and eighty miles wide, after a course of more than four thousand miles.

ing a second reconnoissance. In his marching, we got a great number of deserters, arms, ammunition, and cattle. The 29th, his Excellency entered Huamanga, and on the 30th the infamous Moyano, with the remains of his battalion, the *Royal Philip*, arrived at Quicamachay. Colonel Otero had orders to destroy it; and although he could not accomplish it, he dispersed it without difficulty, taking twenty men, three officers, arms, and horses. General Canterac sent two spies to a priest and to the wife of a former intendant of the province—who were sent back to the enemy with a note. The enemy precipitated his retreat on the 6th inst., from Pampas to Chincheros, and passing through Andaguaylas, has directed his march towards the river Apurimac. On the 10th of September part of the enemy's cavalry abandoned S. Geronimo, two leagues beyond Andaguaylas. On the 13th Colonel Carreno, with a detachment of hussars of Colombia, entered that town. Colonel Otero, with the 1st regiment of Peru, has pursued an enemy's column in the direction of Cangayo (marked in our maps, Canggallo,) and has interposed himself between them and the head-quarters of the enemy. This bold operation frightened them, and they continued their retreat precipitately. Fourteen provinces, which the enemy before occupied, are free, and will be so for ever. The commandant Padin, beat, on the 17th of last month, at Canete, an enemy's party, which was completely destroyed.

The 14th, 15th, and 16th, different corps of the army marched. The last proceeds to-day in pursuit of the enemy. The army can march in a more brilliant condition than when it marched from Truxillo and Cajamarca. At this moment the enemy must have passed the bridge of the Apurimac. This operation will decide his destiny for ever. The total loss of the enemy in his disastrous march, cannot be less than four thousand men, and his effective force will scarcely reach that number.

ANDRAO SANTA CRUZ, Chief of the Staff.

Head-quarters, Huamanga, Sep, 18.

Head-quarters in Chuquibamba, Oct. 4, 1824.

TO THE MINISTER-GENERAL OF THE AFFAIRS OF PERU, DON JOSE
SANCHEZ CARRION.

The army advances without interruption, though without any remarkable event, since it left Huamanga. This arises from the Spaniards continuing to avoid an engagement, though at the expense of great losses. We are masters of the Apurimac, whose bridges have been carried off or broken down by them, with the exception of that of Scopa, at which they maintain a detachment. It is probable that it will share the same fate as the rest, on the approach of a party of our troops which has been sent to occupy it. His Excellency the Liberator has in person reconnoitred and traversed the whole banks of that river, and has ordered the construction of some bridges and rafts—an order which is executing with activity. Thus will the greatest of the obstacles which the Spaniards have been able to oppose to the advance of the Liberator's army be removed.

His Excellency has received certain intelligence, that General Valdez has had a very serious engagement with a division of General Olaneta, near Potosi; that fortune has been equally hostile to the enemy in the south; and that General Olaneta is pursuing Valdez, who has abandoned to the conqueror the provinces of Upper Peru.

But the conduct of our enemies in leaving the country which suffered under their tyranny, is worthy of remark. They have shot all their soldiers who were unable to proceed from the effects of fatigue, and even the sick in the hospitals, who were not able to follow them. We have seen more than two hundred dead in their line of march, and the inhabitants of this town have informed us of the assassination of the patients of the nine hospitals which they had here, and of other five at Abancay.

His Excellency is highly satisfied with the enthusiasm

with which the people receive him and his liberating troops. His army has every where received the most cordial welcome; and the efforts which the people make for their liberty are admirable. His Excellency desires that you will publish the intelligence through the liberated provinces.

(Signed)

General ANDRAO SANTA CRUZ.

ANOTHER DESPATCH.

Head-quarters in Chuquibamba, the 4th of Oct., 1824.

TO THE MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF PERU, DON JOSE SANCHEZ CARRION.

The enemy has passed to the other bank of the Apurimac, abandoning all the country on this side of the river, from south to north, and, judging by his movements, it would be supposed that he retreats towards the mountain. The army of the Liberator has in consequence occupied the free country, which contains some of the provinces of the department of Cusco, covering and watching the line of the Apurimac.

There daily come into us soldiers, whose desertion has increased in proportion to the length of march. On the 11th of August there was a serious affair in Laba, between the vanguard of General Olaneta and the division of General Valdez, who, according to accounts which we have received, was carried off severely wounded. The public papers, signed by Olaneta, leave no doubt that he has become the irreconcilable enemy of the Spanish chiefs.

From the last accounts received by his Excellency from Colombia, he learns that, in July, there were on their march towards Panama, ten thousand veterans, who had been solicited by his Excellency to assist him in Peru. Every day the intendant of Guayaquil expected from the Isthmus four thousand men and eight thousand English muskets. The corvette *Limena* had transported from Panama to Guayaquil

the celebrated squadron of Venezuelan lancers, and twenty thousand English muskets. This corps, and these arms, must already have arrived on these coasts according to the letters of the intendant.

The inhabitants of this part of Peru show more and more every day their love for the sacred cause of their country, showing equal gratitude for the eminent services of his Excellency, and the brave men who support the rights of the human race in the existing contest. It is, consequently, easy to see, that while the army of the Liberator reigns in the hearts of the people, it wants for nothing necessary for its subsistence or convenience. It would, therefore, be madness in the present circumstances, to doubt for a moment of the speedy and complete liberation of the republic.

This is communicated for your satisfaction, and that of all the people.

THOMAS DE HERES, interim Secretary.

From these documents it is evident that the object of the manœuvres of General Bolivar on the banks of the Apurimac, was to engage the enemy in a general action, which, at the moment we are writing, has, very probably, effected the independence of America. In fact, driven from all the fertile and magnificent provinces situated between Lima and the Apurimac, and which they cannot now repass; deprived of their magazines, and daily weakened by desertion and by the fire of the enemy, what can the Spanish generals do? Will they retire to the mountains? Will they direct their course to Upper Peru, where Olaneta and the army of observation stationed at Salta, are waiting for them, or will they risk the event of a decisive battle which General Bolivar offers them? In any one of these alternatives we foresee the termination of the

war ; for, whatever be the determination of the Spanish generals, they have no refuge but in flight, or in an unconditional submission to the standard of liberty. A few days more, and Europe will learn that the land of the Incas has devoured the last satellites of Spanish tyranny.

MEXICO.—Mexico now enjoys the most perfect tranquillity, and, if we except the occupation of the small fortress of St. Juan de Ulloa by the Spaniards, every vestige of civil and foreign war, has disappeared from this beautiful country, lately a prey to so many troubles. Besides this, we know with certainty, that there exist serious revolts in the garrison of St. Juan de Ulloa ; that two attempts have been made by the soldiers to communicate with the independents, and, to deliver up to them the garrison. The news of this first attempt was received at Alvarado the 26th of November. Twenty of the conspirators had failed in an attempt to reach the shore, and eleven of them had been saved by a merchant ship. The deserters declared that they were to make a signal agreed upon, when all the soldiers of the fort were to seize their officers, and deliver up the place. The news of the second attempt arrived at Alvaras on the morning of the 27th of November. Six soldiers had again endeavoured to pass to the independents, but four of them had been retaken. At this period, the governor La Moor was dangerously ill. St. Juan de Ulloa is, however, the last refuge of the Spaniards in America !

The New York papers till the 8th ult. quote some advices from Havannah of the 15th of January, stating that information had reached that place from Barrawa,

of the landing of a body of troops from Spain, supposed to be destined against Vera Cruz, but whose services will, in all probability, be required for the protection of Cuba itself.

“The troops which sailed for the Havannah on the 7th, consisted of three regiments, amounting in the whole to about one thousand eight hundred men. They have been sent, as is said, at the urgent entreaty of the merchants and planters of Havannah, for the purpose of keeping the negroes in subjection, as it was apprehended that an insurrectionary spirit existed among them. They were compelled, however, to remit to Spain the money required for the equipment of the troops before their request was complied with. So little able is this degraded country even to furnish protection for the few colonies left her; although, if the *Madrid Gazette* could obtain belief, it would be inferred that Spain still possesses sufficient power to regain those which have thrown off their independence.”

BIOGRAPHY.

LA SERNA.

During the war which Napoleon carried on in Spain, La Serna was taken prisoner by the French at Sarragossa. He was then a lieutenant colonel of artillery. At the conclusion of peace, he returned to Spain, and though he little expected it, he was appointed colonel of his regiment with the title of Brigadier, as a recompense for his long services, and for having participated in the defence of Sarragossa. Ferdinand had, at that time, re-ascended the throne; but La Serna, who had resided many years in France, returned therefrom with liberal ideas, which he infused into the minds of several officers of his regiment. The government, on hearing this, thought of sending him into exile. Under pretence that the Algerines threatened to land on the Spanish shore, near Algeiras, he was ordered to direct his march that way with his regiment, which was in garrison at Seville. This was a step towards exile. La Serna, who suspected it, and who feared that his well-known opinions might soon bring him into disgrace, wished to prevent it; he solicited of General Count Abisbal, who was then charged with the direction of the American affairs, some employ in that country as major general. His petition met with no difficulty whatever. His wishes were even anticipated, since he was, to the great astonishment of all Spain, appointed general in chief of the army of Peru, with an order to repair immediately

to Cadiz, and there to embark ; and what seemed rather strange, he departed without receiving any instructions, as if he were gone to occupy an inferior post. It was in the month of May, 1816, that he set sail ; and he landed at Arica, in the month of September of the same year.

The state of disturbance and agitation in which he found Peru on his arrival, and the various events that succeeded each other since, might have furnished La Serna with opportunities of displaying firmness, military and political talents, had he possessed them. He showed, however, in every circumstance, nothing but weakness, irresolution, and inability to sustain the weight which he had to bear.

He has been seen, it is true, overthrowing Pezuela, and succeeding him in the viceroyalty; but it was neither by his talents, nor by the force of his mind, nor through any of his own means, that he obtained that victory ; he was indebted for it only to the vigor of his principal partisans ; to the course of events, and chiefly to the wavering temper of his rival, who dared not adopt any of those strong measures which his situation required. These two men are equally wanting in energy, political knowledge and military capacity. They are both unfit to command in a revolutionary country.

When viceroy, La Serna constantly gave fresh proofs of his want of aptitude and of his timidity. He never knew how to take a decisive part, even when his own interest and his duties seemed particularly to require it. It was chiefly towards Olaneta, his subaltern, that he shewed himself irresolute, improvident and fearful. That general had formally de-

spised his orders on the most important occasions; he even once usurped his viceroyalty; he represented him, in his proclamations, as a factious person, and as an enemy to the altar and the throne; he openly waged war with him, spilt the blood of the Spanish soldiers, because the latter had obeyed their viceroy, instead of obeying a common general, who had even no right to command them; and far from punishing him, in an exemplary manner, for those acts of so daring a rebellion, the viceroy treated with him; and not only forgave him, but he even maintained him in his command, with fuller powers, perhaps, than he had before he had made himself so culpable. In short, but for the support of Generals Valdez and Canterac, it is very probable that La Serna would, long since, have ceased to be viceroy. *

* We are informed that the viceroy La Serna, after, without due authority from Madrid, abolishing in Peru the constitutional system, by a proclamation, dated Cusco, 11th of March, renounced by a subsequent proclamation, dated 21st of March, the vice royalty, and intrusted General Canterac with the command in chief of the army. The motives which he pleads in this last proclamation, are the dispositions of the decrees of H. C. M. which annul all the acts that had passed under the constitutional government—(La Serna had been confirmed in the viceroyalty by that government); but it is so much the less probable, that this was the true cause of his voluntary resignation, because those decrees had not yet reached him officially, and that, till then, he might lawfully have remained at the head of affairs in Peru. He even ought to have done so, till his formal revocation, which might not have taken place. It is then more rational to think that he, in this instance, yielded more to a sentiment of fear, than to that of his duties; which, notwithstanding the turn of his mind, seems at all events, difficult to be accounted for; but chiefly in the situation which Peru was in, when he adopted that resolution.

VALDEZ.

Don Geronimo Valdez is a good general. He was one of the very small number of officers who embarked in May, 1816, at Cadiz, with General La Serna, to join the army of Peru. He was then a lieutenant colonel.

Like La Serna, he had made war in Spain against the French, during Napoleon's invasion. He acquired, under the orders of General Ballasteros, great skill in the military art; and that experience, joined to an uncommon activity, to boldness, and to a great determination of mind, had already rendered him a very distinguished officer.

It was during this war that his liberal opinions were formed*; but they became so exalted, that even then, he was looked upon as a dangerous man, capable of undertaking any thing, or of countenancing extravagant designs. The cortes dreaded him, and he was confined in the prisons of the inquisition at Grenada, from which he came out, however, a short time after.

On the king's return, the attention of government was soon directed upon him, as it had been on La Serna, on account of his political sentiments. He was informed

* Those of Ballasteros, of O'Donnell (Count Abisbal), of Mina, and of several other generals, were likewise adopted and manifested at the same time. The love of their country, the decrees of the cortes, indited in such terms, as to inflame their minds with the most noble enthusiasm, and the humiliation of seeing Spain subdued by foreign troops, were the causes of that moral revolution, which, from the general, extended to the whole army, and to so great a part of the nation.

of it, and he embraced with eagerness the opportunity that occurred, of quitting Spain with some companions in arms, who were going to seek in America that fortune and that security, which they could no longer expect to find in their native country. The enquiry in respect of which he had been the object to government, had made him, they said, consider his liberty as being so much at stake, that at the very moment he stepped on board the ship, he still feared that there might arrive from Madrid an order for his arrest.

It was he who principally directed La Serna in almost all that the latter undertook in Peru, till the arrival of General Canterac. After the latter general had landed at Lima, they both acted in concert, and made up by their vigor, their activity and their talents, all that was wanting in their chief; and it is as much on account of the utility of his services of that kind, as for his merely military services, that Valdez is indebted to him for his rank of general, and for the command in chief of the southern army, which was given him by the viceroy La Serna. He possesses in the highest degree the art of intrigue; few Spaniards are more insinuating than he is. During the government of Pezuela, whom he disliked, he was one of the chief contrivers of the numerous societies which were formed in Upper Peru, with the intention of favouring the cause of liberty; he was included in the number of those, whom Pezuela denounced to the Spanish government, as being suspected of secret practices against the royal authority in Peru; and this viceroy took from him the command which he had in the army.

Carried away by his opinions, ambitious, and thirst-

ing for fortune and reputation, forming his resolution quickly when in difficult circumstances, adhering to it with firmness, and capable of making, without regret, the greatest sacrifices to obtain his end—nature has endowed Valdez with every thing requisite to act a great part. Those who are acquainted with him wonder at his not having joined the cause of American independence, as he seemed inclined to do in 1818 and 1819. This party appeared more congenial with his own feelings ; and it was supposed, that he would feel so much the more disposed to join it, as he had no favour to expect from the absolute government of Spain.

After having greatly contributed to strip Pezuela of the viceroyalty which H. C. M. had entrusted him with, and to set up La Serna in his stead, he was soon reinstated by the latter in the command, which the deposed viceroy had taken from him. He was very zealous in publishing in Peru the constitution of the cortes, and in causing it to be adopted there, as it had been in Spain. He seems, however, to have remained faithful to the principles of the mother-country, though General Olaneta accused him, in some proclamations and orders of the day, with wishing to create in Peru an independent empire, in concert with Generals La Serna, Canterac, and others. In all the campaigns of the royal army, Valdez has always been most honourably spoken of. He and Canterac are reckoned as the only two good generals of that army; and if the plans of Bolivar on Peru had happened to miscarry, it would undoubtedly have been to their talents, that H. C. M. was indebted for such an issue.

CANTERAC.

General Canterac is a Frenchman ; he was born at Bordeaux, or in its environs. He had already been in the service of Spain for some years, when he was sent to America. He had also made war in the Peninsula against the armies of Napoleon ; he then served under the orders of Count Abisbal. He is supposed to possess as much energy, activity, and ambition as Valdez, with more real knowledge in the art of war ; but they say that he is less pliant and less fit for intrigue.

In 1814, and even later, when in Catalonia, he was looked upon as a partisan of absolute power. He became a constitutional only after his arrival in America, where he was sent but a short time after La Serna and Valdez. Perceiving that La Serna was led by Valdez, and that the latter had in fact the command of the army in his hands, he courted his friendship, and adopted his political opinions, either through conviction, or only through interest, as he had acted towards so many others for the last ten years. Till now, these two generals have never ceased to act in concert, and nothing remarkable was achieved in the army, and even in the Spanish administration of Peru, but by their advice and their impulse. We must except, however, what is relative to Olaneta's conduct. It had been advised to punish that general for his repeated acts of disobedience to the orders of the viceroy, which the latter forgave, not to aggravate, no doubt, the sad situation of his army, among whom rigorous measures against Olaneta would probably have given rise to a division fatal to the Spanish cause.

Like Valdez, Canterac had no command in the army, when La Serna was raised to the viceroyalty, by a military revolution, in which he took as great a share as any one, and like Valdez, he soon obtained one of the most important military posts.

He is, beyond doubt, the best tactician and the most prudent of all the Spanish generals in Peru; for that was he always placed in the first line before the enemy. He was the last who retired from Lima, on the two instances when the republicans entered there, since the invasion of the combined army of Buenos Ayres and Chili, and the first who re-entered this city with a body of troops, after it had been evacuated, at the time of the dissensions that took place in the congress, and latterly, in consequence of the revolt of the garrison of the fort of Callao, which is the key of that capital.

OLANETA.

Though General Don Pedro Antonio Olaneta never held but a subordinate command in the army, he has been much spoken of, chiefly since the defeat of the Peruvian army, which General Santa Cruz led into Upper Peru, towards the middle of last year. Having principally contributed to that event, his pride was raised so high that he considered himself as the deliverer of Peru, and found means to be proclaimed as such, in some American papers. From that moment, the public attention has been so much the more directed towards that general, because there has always been great variance between him, the viceroy, and the greater part of the other generals of the army. He is a secondary personage, who sought alone to occupy the whole scene, but who was soon brought back again to his own station, whenever he aimed at holding the first rank. His name has more frequently resounded in the New and in the Old World, than those of La Serna, Valdez and Canterac, though the former was his general-in-chief, and though the two latter, much superior to him in military and political talents, have met with more success. The cause of this renown may be traced in his insubordination, which he has frequently carried to open rebellion against his chiefs, and in the numerous acts of oppression and cruelty which he exercised in that part of Peru, the command of which had been devolved upon him.

Destitute of true military and political science, possessing neither magnanimity nor goodness, suspicious and jealous to excess of his companions in arms,

an implacable enemy to the new ideas, and therefore, to any American partisan of independence; confounding, in his blind hatred, both men and opinions, he never enjoyed the esteem of the army, nor that of the Peruvian nation. He has often been the executor of the arbitrary and tyrannical orders of the ex-vice-roy Pezuela, whose chief satellite he was. There existed such a conformity in their temper, that it must indeed have been a very easy matter for them to agree; but such men are very unfit for suppressing revolutions: by the oppressive measures which they adopt, they hurt their own party more than their adversaries.

Such was the effect of the cruelties exercised by Olaneta, and by some other officers defending the same cause (especially Ramirez, who, in 1819 succeeded La Serna in the command-in-chief of the army, and who returned into the state of obscurity from which Pezuela had raised him, when La Serna was promoted to the viceroyalty), that the populations of Upper Peru which had organized that country into *Republicetas*, would rather have exposed themselves to the greatest misfortunes, than fall again under the domination of the serviles; they peaceably returned under the viceregal authority only when it was exercised by La Serna, whose political sentiments and principles of administration widely differed from those of his predecessor.

General Olaneta is a native of Biscay; at the age of seventeen, he went to America, and settled at Tupiza, where he had a relation. Some time before the revolution of the United Provinces of the river Plata, he had addicted himself to the working of the mines, but with little success. This was, perhaps, one of the causes

why he hastened to assume a part in the grand drama which had just began ; he chose that of an opponent, in order, no doubt, to draw the public attention upon him ; he, from the very beginning, made himself conspicuous, by great violence against the Americans friendly to independence. He was admitted as an adjutant-major in the provincial militias of Chicas. He was soon after appointed lieutenant-colonel, which rank was only granted to him, as he acknowledged in one of his last proclamations, on account of his having violently declared himself against the cause of liberty.

He carried arms first in the province of Tucuman, at the head of some troops composed of Spaniards and Americans ; he met, for a long time, with nothing but disasters. He was, however, appointed colonel in a sharp affair that took place at Ayouma, and major-general a few months after. The command of the vanguard division of the army of Peru was then entrusted to him, and he still retains it.

In this latter post, which he has held for these eleven years, he has rendered some services to the royal cause. He obtained various advantages, chiefly in the month of September, 1823, over the body of Peruvian troops which General Santa-Cruz had incautiously pushed on as far as the borders of the Desaguadero ; but his services would have proved far more effectual and important, if he had not, at the same time, through disobedience, introduced confusion and discord into the ranks of the Spanish army.

He has never ceased from that time to prove by his conduct, that he acted from the sole view of personal ambition ; it was a short time after having defeated General Santa-Cruz, that he proclaimed himself vice-

roy of Peru, spreading out the report that this dignity had been conferred on him by H. C. M. (which was false); but, through motives which we are ignorant of, he soon discontinued to assume that title. He persisted, however, in wishing himself to be considered as the only general officer in the army who defended the royal cause; and on the 21st of February, 1824, he issued a proclamation against Generals La Serna, Valdez, Canterac, and others, whom he represented as enemies to the Divinity and to H. C. M. He even openly waged war against the troops of the viceroy; and from his own private authority, pronounced the abolition of the constitutional system, under pretence that the said system was no longer in existence in Spain, though he had not received any kind of official intelligence of that sort. Such a conduct raised against him the indignation of the Viceroy La Serna, who sent some troops against him, and he compelled him on the 9th of March, at Tarapaya, to enter into a kind of capitulation, by which he acknowledged that things should remain on the same footing as they were after the proclamation of the constitution of the Cortes. He submitted anew to the viceroy's authority, and was even obliged to obey the orders of General Valdez, commander-in-chief of the southern army; but he nevertheless continued to maintain in those places where he commanded the abolition of the constitutional system. La Serna, who is far from possessing any energy, fatigued no doubt by so much resistance, and being, perhaps, indirectly informed that the constitution had been once more rescinded, adopted at last, on the 11th of March, at Cusco, the resolution of declaring that the said constitution should no longer be observed,

and that Peru should be regulated according to the ancient laws of the monarchy. His principal motive was, as he himself said, to avoid the misfortunes that might result from a state of things semi-constitutional and semi-purely monarchical. One may observe, however, in the proclamation published on that account, that he was afraid of swerving from his duty, by not acting conformably to the king's orders; for he declared that, in case H. C. M. should not approve of such a measure having been adopted without his formal orders, all the blame of it should reflect on General Olaneta, who was the principal cause of it, and whose conduct he characterized in a very unfavourable way.*

If we recur to the situation in which General Olaneta was placed, when he joined the party adverse to the

* We have observed that the Madrid Gazette, which has recently published various documents, relative to the abolition of the constitutional system in Peru by La Serna, and to his voluntary resignation of the viceroyalty, has omitted in one of these documents the passage where La Serna calls forth in some measure the royal discontent on Olaneta's conduct. That remarkable passage is thus worded in the Viceroy's proclamation, which is now before us:

"If those measures (namely, those of the abolition of the constitutional system) displease H. M. as being premature, and swerving from the order commonly followed on occasions of far less importance than the change of the monarchical system, his reproaches can be applied only to General Olaneta, who, by depriving me of the pleasure and glory of proclaiming the triumph of the sacred and primitive right of the crown in the prescribed time and form, has rendered the illegal and prejudicial anticipation of that act, necessary for the maintenance of the union and good order of the provinces entrusted to my care and safe-guard."

revolution of Buenos Ayres, we may be allowed to believe that he embraced that party as much through personal ambition and with a view to obtain a situation, as through hatred of the revolutionary principles, and love for the rights of the throne. It is possible that, since he found considerable advantages in defending the cause of absolute power, he may be now sincerely attached to that cause which has made his military and pecuniary fortune, and which has perhaps carried him farther than he ever had intended to go. He is now major-general, and possesses immense riches. He not long ago extended his views even to the viceroyalty, and it is said that he had powerful supports at Madrid, since the king had recovered the plenitude of his monarchical power.

SOUTH AMERICAN MINING.

BRASILIAN MINES.

Never, since the bold attempts of Columbus and Gama, has the New World been, in respect to the Old, the object of greater enterprizes, greater hopes, or less apprehension. The revolution, which separates from the mother-country the colonies whence the former derived her splendor, has produced, in every part of the globe, an interest and activity unparalleled in the history of the universe. In this revolution, the absolute governments of a part of the world see the cause of the decline and termination of their tyranny; in this revolution, the people of all countries discover an inexhaustible source of riches and prosperity. On one side, a few individuals give way to the irritation of their pride and malignant passions, because they can find no more nations to plunder and massacre; on the other side, these nations, freed from the yoke of oppression, wish to be mutually happy, and are calling upon each other, from the two extremities of the earth, to renew the ties of that original confraternity which is founded on the identity of their wants, their pains and their pleasures. However, if the genuine principles of universal morality are paramount to the theories of exclusive privileges and national distinctions, the attention is not less, now than formerly, attracted to the accumulation of riches; and it is unques-

tionable, that the love of wealth and that of liberty are equally exercising their sway over the mind and imagination of modern nations; but with this remarkable difference, that the people of Europe desire no other encouragement to their speculations than peace and commerce; and that, for this part of those metals, which is useless to the Americans, they offer, in exchange, the produce of their industry, their agriculture and their manufactures, together with their coined money, which, to the Americans, must be objects of such great necessity. America, therefore, must gain by this traffic, for, by opening, at this time, her mines to European capitalists, she, in reality, gives only the sign to receive the thing; whereas, a short time since, her gold, her silver, her precious stones, were applied to the exclusive purpose of paying for the state of ignorance, misery, superstition, idleness and pride, in which she was kept by the systematic tyranny of her oppressors.

This New World, however, to the discovery of which, navigation, geography, astronomy, medicine, natural history, and other branches of knowledge are so much indebted; this New World, from which some crowns have derived all their lustre, their power, and their riches; and whose internal recesses European rapacity thought it had completely explored, appears to have given up only its surface to the fury of its oppressive masters, for the purpose of reserving the real treasures concealed in its bosom, for free men, who wish to exercise over America no other ascendancy than that arising from genius and from the superiority of their arts. The intervention of such men, founded on

voluntary and reciprocal advantages, is in unison with the respect due to the liberties of America, and powerfully cements her independence.

Wherever the thirst of gain leads to some new attempt, the chances of success are multiplied in the direct ratio of the means employed to obtain it. Hence, the superabundance of English capital—the cosmopolitan principle of which naturally induces it to select any country in which its growth may be protected and productive—directs its course to the mines of the New World; and, with such a degree of affluence, that the friends of England may have reasonably entertained some fear, respecting the future prosperity of their country. In fact, the new and numerous undertakings, which are every day formed, for working the American mines, absorb immense sums, the loss of which would be dreadful indeed; for, by ruining individuals, it certainly would involve the destruction of commerce in general; and the facility with which the hope of immense gain insinuates itself into every bosom, and opens every purse, appears, in our apprehension, to accuse, in some degree, the public prudence. It is not that we have any particular reason for anticipating sinister results; we have, on the contrary, very powerful inducements to hope that complete success will crown all, or at least, many of the enterprises of this kind; we must however say, that the British public are in the dark on this subject, and that we consider it the duty of all persons connected with them, unservedly to speak the language of truth, and to endeavour to point out to them their real interests, without wounding those of any one.

With this view, we have employed all the means

in our power to obtain the most correct ideas and the most exact information concerning the South American mines, the system of which we shall develop in a series of articles, particularly devoted to this purpose. In these articles, we shall refute, with equal force and impartiality, both the exaggerated and delusive hopes which may mislead persons who engage their capital in the working of the American mines, and the ill-founded fears which some discontented men endeavour to excite, in respect to these enterprises, the greatest evil of which, probably is, in the eye of morose censors, that the directors have not been disposed to favour them with some shares.

The objects separately to be examined in the system of the South American mines, may be reduced to three:

1. The situation and products of the different mines before 1810, a period at which internal troubles and the war of independence interrupted the working of them, principally at Mexico, Peru, and Buenos Ayres;

2. The present situation of these mines, their product, and their means of amelioration;

3. The authority with which the directors of the different companies are invested; the nature of their contracts with the American governments, or with the immediate proprietors; in fine, the foundation on which repose the interests of the shareholders, who entrust to them their fortune.

The following is a list of the foreign mines &c. which we shall consider in succession. We shall confine ourselves, in this article, to the examination of what concerns the Brazilian mines, to which we shall

revert as often as we receive the information we have solicited on the spot.

The Mexican mines, of which we have given only some sketches in our preceding Number, will form the subject of a more extensive article in our next.

FOREIGN MINES, &c.

	CAPITALS.
Brasilian.....	1,000,000
New Brasilian.....	2,000,000
Anglo Mexican.....	1,000,000
United Mexican Company.....	240,000
Real del Monte.....	200,000
General South America.....	2,000,00
Anglo Chilian.....	1,000,000
Chilian.....	1,000,000
Colombian.....	1,000,000
Pasco Peruvian Mines.....	2,000,000
Rio de la Plata.....	1,000,000
Tlalpaxahua.....	400,000
Balanos.....	
Pearl Fishery.....	725,000
Guatimala.....	

SITUATION AND PRODUCE OF THE BRASILIAN MINES BEFORE THE YEAR 1810.

Southey says, in his history of Brasil, that,

“ It is the opinion of scientific men that hitherto only the surface of the earth had been searched, and that the veins were still for the most part untouched”—Pag. 828, Vol. 2—and elsewhere he adds, “ the modes of mining having been so imperfect, it has not unreasonably been thought that when more scientific means are adopted, Brasil is likely to yield more gold than at any former time. But improved methods will require an outlay which can only be advanced

by government, or by companies possessed of great capital when they commence their operations."

"But the most precious productions of Brazil are diamonds and gold, which are abundant, especially in the capitania of Minas Geraes. They are chiefly found in the beds of the mountain torrents, or in deep valleys, in a stratum of rounded pebbles or gravel, from which they are separated by washing. All the head waters of the great rivers which flow northward and fall into the Amazon, as the Araguaya, the Xengu, the Tapajos, and the Madeira, are found fertile with gold; the principal diamond ground is in the capitania of Minas Geraes among the mountains, in which the Rio Francisco and the Rio Grandé have their rise. What is termed the diamond district extends about fifty miles from north to south, and twenty-five from east to west, around the sources of these rivers."

*The Geography, History, and Statistics of America—
by H. C. Carey and J. Lea, Philadelphia—1824.*

"A finer country than Brasil, or richer in mineral treasure, is scarcely to be found in the whole compass of the globe."
Myer's Modern Geography.

A writer who has given the latest and most detailed account of Brazilian commerce with which we are acquainted, says somewhere,

"If it be asked what she (Brasil) wants? the reply is: nothing but luxuries. Are gold, silver, or jewels desirable? She possesses them in abundance; they cost her only labour," &c.—*Luccook.*

"The gold is found in the country about Villa Rica * in the form of powder and fine dust; or in larger or smaller folia, in crystals, particularly in octahedrons and tetrahedrons, in a dendritical form; lastly, though more rarely in lumps, there is an instance of a massy piece which weighed sixteen

* The metropolis of the province of Minas Geraes.

pounds; in colour, it is yellow, black or whitish, according to the different proportions of the chemical and mechanical admixture of platina, iron, and other metals. Hitherto it has been washed out of streams and rivers, from the clayey surface of the soil, or out of stamped auriferous quartz veins, or iron stone flötz. It is related that this metal has even been found in heaps, under the roots of plants pulled out of the ground, whither it had been accidentally washed by the rains. We first of all, saw here the gold-washing in the Ribeirão do Ouro Preto, in which, as the rivers are not private property, some negroes were almost constantly employed. No free men, except blacks, follow this occupation, and they only when they happen to want money to supply their wants; the gold-washers are dressed in a leathern jacket, with a round bowl cut out of the wood of the fig-tree (*gamelleira*,) from a foot and a half to two feet in diameter, and a foot deep, and a leather bag fixed before them. They generally select those places in which the river is not rapid, where it makes a bend, and has deep holes. They first remove the large stones, and upper layers of sand, with their feet or their gamella, and then take up a bowl full from the deeper and older gravel of the river (*cascalho virgem*.) They continue to shake, wash, and strike off the stones and sand from the top, till the heavy gold dust appears pure at the bottom of the vessel, on which a little water is thrown in with the hand, and the gold at length put into the leathern bag. This mode of gold-washing is here called *mergulhar*, diving."

*Travels in Brasil by Dr. Joh. Bapt. Von Spiz, and
Dr. C. F. Von Martuis, printed, London—1824.*

"Having now reached the celebrated centre of the gold countries, we ardently wished soon to visit the mines themselves. . . . Our friend conducted us to the eastern declivity of the Morro de Villa-Rica, which has hitherto yielded the greatest abundance. . . . how great was our astonishment when our friend signified to us that this was

the rich gold mine of Villa-Rica; the mine in which we then were belonged to Colonel Velozo, and is one of the oldest and most productive. Sieves and raw ox-hides were placed at certain distances in trenches full of water, conducted from the summit (of the *navatum*;) the first sieve to stop the coarser sand, and the latter to catch the gold dust in the hair which stands erect; here and there we also saw detached trenches (*mondões*) in which the auriferous mud or sand collects. As soon as the rainy season commences, these simple preparations are put in motion; the water which is led into the trenches, washes the gold out of the stones, and brings it either into the trenches, or between the hair of the hides; the gold is then washed out of the mud in those receptacles, by negro slaves, who sit there stripped to the waist on wooden benches, with their bowls; and the gold caught by the ox hides, washed in tubs made for the purpose, and beaten out. The former possessors always had their mines worked by several hundred slaves, and derived immense profit from them."

Speaking about the geognostical nature of the surface of the mountains, and of a formation of gold which they had not previously seen, namely the *carrocira*, the same writers say,

"This is a friable, rough-feeling, greasy mass of greyish green colour, which consists of a very fine-grained quartz, and a smokey grey mica, with earthy grey maganese ore, and probably forms a layer several feet thick, between the planes of separation of the quartzzy mica-state and the clay state lying under it. It generally contains a considerable quantity of gold, and had therefore been washed with particular care by the *mineiros*, who had dug the adit into the morro. Yet they had left so much metal in the earth which they had washed, that Mr. Von Eschwege found it worth his while to wash it

again with that which he dug up afresh. For this purpose, he had constructed a vessel moved horizontally by a water wheel, in which the gold was to be separated from the finest particles mixed with it, but he subsequently found this machine not quite answerable to his expectations, from the difficulty of separating the gold dust from the specular iron ore (*esmerit*) brown stone, antimony, and arsenic. A perfect separation can probably never be obtained without amalgamation; but this method is at present almost wholly unknown in Brazil, where the general deficiency in the proper management of the metal, fully corresponds with the defective manner of working the mines. The *mineiro* fancies he has done enough if he opens a mountain with an open mine (*talha aberta*), or digs shallow trenches in the course of the auriferous quartz veins and nests (*trabalhar por minas*), and leaves what remains to be done to the ore he has procured, partly to the force of the water, and partly to the skill of the negro, who generally works with the hammer instead of the stamping mill, and with the bowl, instead of platform and troughs, or amalgamation. We saw stamping mills and platforms nowhere but in the mine belonging to Padre Freitas, at Congonhas de Sabará."—*Ibid.*

"The purest gold which is smelted here, is of three and twenty carats and seven-eighths. The mine of Villa generally produces gold from twenty to twenty-three carats, those of Sabará and Congonhas de Sabará, on the other hand, from eighteen to nineteen carats, that from the Rio das Velhas near Sabará gives from nineteen to twenty. The gold of Cocaes and Inficionado is very pure, though not of a very fine yellow, but often pale or copper-coloured," &c.—*Ibid.*

"A correct idea of the great quantity of gold which has been delivered from the smelting houses at Minas, may be best formed by considering the immense works of King John V., the aqueduct of Lisbon, and the convent of Mafra, the expenses

of which were entirely defrayed by the royal fifth * of the Brazilian gold. At the end of the last century from seventy to eighty arrobas of gold were annually smelted in Villa Rica. The whole of the royal fifth amounted in the year 1757 to one hundred and eighteen arrobas ; and up to the year 1812 above six thousand eight hundred and ninety-five arrobas, that is, eight millions of cruzadoes."— *Ibidem.*

But the gold mines are not the only riches of this empire; it possesses others of a more brilliant nature in its diamond mines, to which may be added those still more valuable, of iron and copper, which it possesses in abundance, and which the hand of skill will soon extract from its bosom, and convert to the use of the arts, and the purposes of commerce. The iron of Suracaba, for instance, is equal to the best iron in Sweden.

"Almost every kind of metal is found here, (Minas Geraes). Iron stone which produces 90 per cent., is met with almost every where, and it constitutes, in a manner, the chief component part of long chains; lead is found beyond the Rio de S. Francisco, in Abaité; copper, near Gaspar Soares and in other rivers; quicksilver, arsenic, bismuth, antimony, and red lead ore, about Villa Rica. Diamonds in Tejuco and Abaité; yellow, blue, and white topazes, grass and bluish-green aqua-marines, red and green tourmalines, chrysoberyls, garnets, and amethysts, principally in Minas Novas."

*Travels in Brasil, Dr. Jos. Bapt. Von Spiz;
Dr. C. T. Phil. Von Martini.*

* According to a very rigorous law, all the gold obtained must be brought to the royal smelting house, there to be smelted; then the *escrevao da receita* weighs it and separates the fifth part from it as due to the king, and the *escrevao da conferencia* enters in the lists the quantity of each owner without and with the deduction.

“The diamond mines are among the most lucrative branches of the revenue of the Brazilian empire. It was in the reign of Mary I. about the end of the eighteenth century, that the explorers of Brasil discovered, and began to work them in the chain of mountains of Cerro do Frio, a part of the province of Minas de Geraes. Diamonds were first found, as gold had previously been, in the beds of rivers and in hollows, but a long period elapsed before it was believed, that what had originally been considered only mere crystallized pebbles, would become an immense source of revenue. Their native bed is the crust or surface of the mountains; but, to save the labor of working them, the preference is given to those found in the beds of rivers, and in the adjacent masses of sand or slime. The rivers most abounding in diamonds are Riacho Fundo, the Rio de Peiz, the Rio Pardo, the Rio Velho and the Gigitonhonha. Le Cerro do Frio, which contains the greatest number of diamonds in Brasil, consists of mountains which run north and south, and which are considered the highest in Portuguese America. Near a hundred leagues west of Porto Securo, was formed the celebrated establishment of Tejuco, distinguished by the name of the Diamond District, the extent of which is six leagues from north to south, and eight from east to west. The climate is mild and agreeable; the soil, unfavorable to agricultural produce, is watered by the Gigitonhonha, the richest river in the world, rolling over a soil strewn with diamonds. It is formed by the junction of a great number of streams; and, at that very point where the mines begin, its breadth is equal to that of the Thames at Windsor. The valley through which the Gigitonhonha flows is bordered by mountains formed of small rock-pebbles, the declivity of which is very considerable.

“The flat countries on each side of the Gigitonhonha, are equally rich, and the officers of the crown may calculate the value of an unworked piece of land by comparing it

with those which have already undergone the process of mining.

“An English traveller, (John Maw) the first European authorized by the Portuguese government to visit the gold and diamond mines of Brasil, has frequently heard it observed by the intendant of the crown, that he could make such a piece of ground produce 10,000 carats, if he received from government an order to supply that quantity of diamonds.

“In the first twenty years subsequent to the discovery of the mines of Tejuco, the governor of Rio de Janeiro sent to Lisbon a quantity of precious stones, which it is said, exceeded a thousand ounces in weight..... It appears that, in the neighbourhood of Tejuco, particularly in Cerro de San Antonio, and in the circumjacent countries inhabited by the natives, there exist lands which would supply diamonds in considerable abundance, if they were carefully worked. Tejuco serves as a first dépôt not only for the diamonds of the district, but also for those which come from the other towns of the interior. There, the diamonds are weighed with much care; the most beautiful are separated from the others. The annual produce is from 20 to 25,000 carats.

“Other parts of Brasil, such as the district of Cuiaba, and the mountains of Guara-Puera, in the province of St. Paul, contain also mines which have not yet been worked.”

History of Brasil—Beauchamp, 1815.

“Brasil is one of the richest countries in nature (*mais enriquecida pela natureza*). Diamonds, precious stones, gold (*prata*), copper, iron (*chumbo*), antimony (*mobybdena*), and bismuth (*saes mineraes*) are the most important products of its mineral kingdom.”

Sketches Von Braselien—por I Lobo da Silveira.

“This fossil (the diamond), generally called stone, was not known in Brasil before the year 1728. Since that period, it has become its greatest ornament, and the principal source

of its revenue. The exportation of Brazilian diamonds equals that of Turkey and of all the Levant.—*Ibidem.*

"It is the capitaneries of Minas Geraes, of Goyazes, of Matto Grosso, which now supply the greatest quantity of gold; but independently of these, gold is also found in the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and São Paula.

"We have, however, no gold mines, properly so called, unless this name may be given to several openings about twenty feet deep (*muita abertura no terreno de 18 pés de profundidade*). In general, the gold we possess is not obtained from mining; for we have neither miners, nor proper tools, nor even the relative science. The greater part of our gold is produced from rivers, such as the Rio Doce, Rio das Mortes, Rio das Velhas, &c., where it is found in great abundance among the sand, and is obtained pure, by the simple operation of washing."—*Shlenmung—Ibidem.*

"The account of the produce of the Brazilian gold mines, exhibits an extraordinary variation; the value of this produce is susceptible of great increase or diminution, according to the political influence of the times.

"If we consider the £3,200 of gold, the annual produce of one-fifth of Minas Geraes, as a third of the annual income in gold, belonging to the crown, and if we calculate the mark of gold only at twenty-two quilates, we shall find, that the annual produce of gold of one-fifth of the crown, amounts to 4,000,614 cruzadoes, and the total produce of gold in Brasil yearly, to 23,070,000 cruzadoes. In valuing it at 24,000,000, this estimate will not be very distant from the truth."

Ibidem.

"Gold is perhaps the only metal hitherto extracted from Brasil. The silver, which in 1749 was discovered in Cayaburi

on Catbari, and in several other places, and the abundant copper mines between Piaubi and Jacobina, and even in the Minas Geraes, and Rio de Janeiro, are not worked. The enormous piece of pure copper weighing 1,666 lbs. brought to the royal museum of Lisbon, from a torrent of the capitanerie of Bahia, is an incontestible proof of the riches this region possesses in copper. The iron of Piaubi, Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso, Bahia, São Paulo and Ceará; the lead of Jacobina; the molybdena of Maramhão, the antimony, quicksilver and pure bitumen of Minas Geraes, are too well known to require any notice,"—*Ibidem*.

In presenting to our readers the above extracts, taken from recent works of the most eminent writers of different countries, who have particularly directed their attention to the mineralogical riches of Brasil, our object is to prove a twofold truth of great importance, not only to this vast empire, but also to capitalists of every country, directly or indirectly interested in its prosperity: we allude to the Brazilian mines, which, of all America, and, perhaps, of the whole world, are those to which nature has granted the most, and from which art has till now required the least. They have, to this day, remained untouched, and are consequently the richest in the universe. This is not an unfounded assertion; it is proved by the authority of facts. The Europeans had, if we may be allowed the expression, ransacked the very bowels of the rest of America, and obtained immense riches, long before Brasil derived the least advantage from her mines. In fact, it is well known, that, although these mines were discovered in the year 1533, Portugal reaped no benefit from them till it recovered its independence, that is, after 1698;

whilst at this period the gold produced by Mexico had, for a considerable time, abounded in Spain and enriched Europe. From this cause, no sooner had the Portuguese government began to work the surface of its mineral riches, than it drew from it almost without effort, immense and rapid gains. We say "almost without effort," because it is proved to demonstration, that it worked only the surface of its mines, that it received rather than exacted from them the whole of the gold it has obtained, and that, consequently, the most productive source of riches that nature has deposited within their bosom remains still untouched.

The mines of Spanish America, although very imperfectly explored, were yet an object of undivided solicitude to the government of Madrid, who employed, for working them, all the means then known. For this purpose, eminent mining schools were established in almost all the capitals of the Spanish viceroyalties, and whatever power could be suggested by cotemporary science, was immediately applied to the extraction of the minerals. But what an inconceivable difference, what an extraordinary apathy in Brasil? It seemed as if the government of that country were then, and a long time afterwards, unwilling to receive from their mines, any thing more than what they spontaneously offered, and what, therefore, they could not refuse. The surface of those mountains every where indicates the immense treasures they conceal; they invite, they solicit the hand of the miner to relieve them from their precious burden; but, notwithstanding this, it is in distant places, in the currents of rivers that, unaided by art, without method, without

industry, the Portuguese glean the almost innumerable millions, which yet are only the superfluity of the Brazilian mines, the superabundance of their fecundity.

It is also known, that by a contracted system of policy, but which was not then, perhaps, without reason, the Brazilian government converted the districts of its gold and diamond mines into a real Tauris, inaccessible to foreigners. The provinces of Minas Geraes, of Matto Grosso, of St. Paul, and above all, the diamond district, were placed in a complete state of siege, forbidding the approach of the mineralogist, the naturalist, and of every person that might have discovered the secret of their abundance. It was not without the greatest difficulty that Mr. Maw, an English naturalist, obtained some years ago, permission from the Prince Regent, to explore these countries, and this indulgence occasioned such bitter complaints, that it seemed as if the prince had delivered up Brasil to a hostile army. Hence, it may be very reasonably inferred that there is a number of mines, the existence of which is not even suspected, and which will be disclosed at the present day, when a more rational and liberal policy is removing the barriers which prejudice had placed between Brasil and foreign industry.

Previously to the emigration of the court of Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, the vice-royal government had almost neglected the interests of the mining districts; but in 1808, the minister Count de Barca and Count Lenares, convinced of the advantages that might arise to the state and individuals, advised the establishment of some mining companies, to whom the government

granted special powers and privileges. A decree of the 10th of January, 1817, authorized the establishment of a company for thirty years, for the extraction of the ore of gold in all the province of Matto Grosso, with the privilege of working whatever mines they should choose, in preference to other companies and individuals. Another decree of the 12th of August, 1817, authorized the formation of various companies, with similar privileges, for the working of the mines of the different provinces of Minas Geraes; and by the same decree, the government reduced the duty on the ore extracted from one-fifth to one-tenth.

In consequence, however, of the insufficiency of capital, and the ineffective state of the art of mineralogy in Brasil, the company for working mines in Matto Grosso, although it still nominally exists, has become inactive, and of the several companies formed for mining in the provinces of Minas Geraes, the company employed in the mines of the district of Villa Rica is the only one in operation, but to an inconsiderable extent, on account of the want of capital.

A similar deficiency of capital rendered null another decree of the Brazilian government, the object of which was to attract the population to the districts containing the most important mines. By this decree of the 5th of September, 1811, a commercial company was established for trading between the provinces of Goyaz and Para, by means of the rivers Tocantins, Araguaia, and Amazone, with a privilege of being exempt for twenty years, from all duties upon all goods transported upon those rivers; and tracts of land upon the borders thereof were granted to the proprietors of

shares in the company, but the want of capital prevented the accomplishment of the objects of government.

Such was the state of things, when the separation of Brasil from the mother-country, and the substitution of the constitutional system for the principle of absolute monarchy, exerted a favorable influence over every element, and fertilized every germ of the national prosperity of Brasil. The government of the emperor, religiously faithful to the representative principle, which it adopted, and convinced that exclusions and monopolies are destructive to this principle, immediately renounced the contracted calculations of the former policy. It saw that the future greatness of the Brazilian empire depended upon two important improvements: the increase of population, and that of its coin and its circulation; and to obtain this twofold result, it declared that the working of its mines should, from that time, be open to every company, national or foreign, possessing the necessary capital, and the direction of which should be confided to men of equal probity and talent. This appeal was thought worthy the attention of the two companies, which offered to undertake the working of every description of mines, in the provinces of Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso, Goyas, St. Paul's, &c. Before adverting to these two companies, we think it will be proper to submit to our readers an extract, which will prove to them, that if the want of means of communication, and the sterility of the provinces containing the mines of the Spanish colonies, are considered as obstacles rendering the working of them difficult and diminishing the profits,

it is not the case with the Brazilian provinces, where the English industry will soon exert its power.

“ Villa Rica, the capital of the province of Minas Geraes, the residence of the governor-general and of the ouvidor of the Comarca Ouro Preto, is built on two hills of the eastern declivity of the mountain of the same name, on the Ouro Preto, subsequently called Do Carmo, which is the boundary between the lofty Itacolumi and the Morro de Villa Rica. The streets leading from that part of the city situated in the valley Do Ouro Preto, to that lying upon the hills, are all paved, provided with fourteen wells, and connected by four stone bridges. the principal street runs half a league along the slope of the Morro. The houses are built of stone, two stories high, covered with tiles; the greater part are white-washed, and, though not very striking in their external appearance, are convenient, and adapted to the elevated situation of the town. The most remarkable of the public buildings are ten chapels, two considerable parish churches, the exchequer, the theatre, &c. . . .

“ Almost all kinds of trades are carried on here, the principal of which are the saddlers, tinmen, and blacksmiths; there are likewise manufactories of gunpowder, beaver hats, and pottery. No other town in the interior of Brasil has such a brisk trade as Villa Rica. There are roads from this place by way of S. João d'El Rey to S. Paulo; by Minas Novas to Bahia; by S. Romão, Tejuco, Malhada, to Paracutã, Goyaz, and Matto-Grosso; but none of these is so much frequented by caravans passing backwards and forwards, as that leading to Rio de Janeiro, which is seventy miles distant. Almost every week large convoys set out with the productions of the country,—cotton, hides, marmalade, cheese, precious stones, gold bars, &c., and bring in exchange from the capital, salt, wine, calicoes, handkerchiefs, hams, looking-glasses, iron-ware, and new negroes, to be employed in the gold-washing,

See. The trade with the more remote districts of the interior, is not, indeed, so great as that of S. Paulo and Rio, which is carried on even as far as Goyas and Matto-Grosso, yet it extends even beyond the Rio de S. Francisco, almost over the whole capitania, and supplies it not only with the European articles purchased at Rio de Janeiro, but also with the produce of the environs.

“ The climate of this capitania, on account of its elevated situation, is very temperate, and favorable to European fruits. During our residence in Villa Rica, the thermometer varied very much; in the morning before sunrise, it was at 12° R., at noon at 23°, in the evening at 16°, and at midnight at 14°. The barometer rose and fell between 23° and 25.5°; the whalebone hygrometer varied from 55° to 70°. The weather was very pleasant, but often cooled by sudden thunder-storms. . . ”

*I. C. von Spix, and I. P. von Martius—
Travels in Brasil.*

The extensive province of Goyaz, contiguous to those of Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso and Para, possesses a fertile soil, abundance of fuel, and a salubrious climate. It is bounded for several hundred miles by the navigable river Araguaia which forms a communication with the river Amazon and the Atlantic, and which, is intersected by the river Jocantens also navigable, and forming a junction with the river Araguaia. Those rivers offer important advantages for the operations of mining.

ANNUAL PRODUCT OF THE BRASILIAN MINES BEFORE AND AFTER 1810.

The war of independence which, since 1810, diminished half the produce of the mines of South America, and especially those of Mexico, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, occasioned no alteration in the produce of the mines of Brasil, which, at that period, enjoyed

the presence of the court, and great internal tranquillity. The deplorable stagnation of this important source of public wealth was the same before and after this period; and we know, from very competent authority, that the average product of the Brazilian gold mines has been 4,340,000 dollars annually, from 1800 to 1818.

After the preceding sketch, it would be useless to expatiate any longer upon the immense success to be obtained by the associations which have lately been formed for the working of mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, &c. &c. in the Brazilian empire. There can be no doubt that the employment of vast capital, the application of the new means supplied by the present state of science, the avowed protection of the laws and of a settled and liberal government, the unexhausted fecundity of the mines, the extreme facility of communication, and the advantages of a fertile and healthy climate, will insure an immediate and brilliant result to the enterprises which are forming under these happy auspices. But are all these favorable circumstances sufficient to protect the interests of the governments or of the American individuals who relinquish their mines to the companies by whom they are solicited? Can they protect also the European capitalists who trust to them their funds? We believe not; and we think that it would be advisable to both to require from the societies with which they treat the requisite moral and pecuniary security which, in our opinion, has not hitherto been always offered to them. When grand political events have created new general wants, or given a new direction to general speculation, men have ever been disposed to avail themselves of changes,

in which they often had every thing to gain and nothing to lose. But what has been the result? Illusions dissipated, hopes disappointed, interests betrayed. Now, in the present circumstance, it appears to us that it is not sufficient to form a nominal company, to publish a pompous prospectus decorated with some respectable names, to fix the price of shares, and to circulate all this at the London Exchange. Something more, we think, is required to form an association deserving the confidence of American share-holders and European capitalists. We are persuaded that both cannot sufficiently guard against the illusions by which it may be attempted to mislead and ruin them. They ought, above all, to satisfy themselves that the undertakings in which they engage are not visionary. Governments and those who consent to the cession of the American mines, ought to be well convinced, before they enter into any contract, that their mines will be worked; and that the persons with whom they treat at so great a distance, do not depend upon the fluctuation of the money market in order to enter into the execution of their undertakings. Hence, they ought to require, not mere contracts, but ships, money, miners and machinery. On their part, the public who confide their money to the companies, should satisfy themselves respecting the extent and legality of the powers by virtue of which they act.

We consider these as general principles, but, fortunately, it is unnecessary for us to apply them to the two companies which have been formed for working the Brazilian mines. We are convinced that they both merit the confidence of the public. It is, however, rather extraordinary, (we request permission to

make the remark,) that the directors of the first of these companies, (viz. the first established) known by the name of the BRASILIAN MINING COMPANY, for the purpose of mining for gold in the province of Minas Geraes, should not have thought proper to give publicity to the decree, by virtue of which his Imperial Majesty has authorized them to form this undertaking. We have no doubt that Mr. E. Oxenford has been really honored with this decree. We also believe, (according to what was, by his order, inserted in the public papers) "that the emperor expressly states, in the decree granted to him (Mr. E. Oxenford), as one reason, for departing from the hereditary jealousy of the court of Brasil on the subject, the advantages the country may be expected to derive from the introduction of foreigners who might bring with them the improved methods of mining adopted in Europe."* And we are persuaded also (as Mr. E. O. again says,) "that the decree of the emperor grants, what has never yet been conceded to any foreigners; the right of making purchases of estates in this territory." This wise measure is perfectly congenial with the liberality of his Imperial Majesty; but, in respect to the obstinate refusal to give publicity to a document so interesting to those English capitalists who have confided their property to Mr. E. Oxenford, and, we may even say, so honorable to men who are the objects of it, it appears to us that, in communicating only detached parts of this imperial decree, and in permitting its examination only at the house of Mr. E. Oxenford, to which it is impossible every subscriber can have access, this director exposes himself to a suspicion on the part of

* The Times.

the public (very unjust no doubt), that this decree may contain some clauses less favorable than those of which they have been informed. In respect to ourselves, we are far from thinking so, although we have in vain, for the benefit of our readers, requested Mr. Oxenford to permit us to take a copy of this decree. Be this as it may, the shares of the company of Mr. Oxenford have rapidly obtained a premium of £85; which fell as rapidly to £16. What can be the cause of this sudden transition? It is certainly not the nature of the undertaking, which, in our opinion, is excellent. Does it not originate in the director or directors, who, having from the beginning allowed themselves the enormous commission of 5 per cent., and having thus received by anticipation, their share of the profit in this gigantic speculation, have now only a feeble interest in its support? This is only a conjecture, which we submit to the sagacity of our readers.

The second company (*viz.*, the second in date) known by the name of NEW BRASILIAN MINING COMPANY, for *Mines of Gold, Silver, Platina, Copper, Iron, and other Metals, in the Territories of his I. M. the Emperor of Brasil*, offered itself to the public under the most favorable auspices, and with every claim to general confidence. This company, whose capital is £2,000,000, and at the head of which are persons whose names alone are a powerful recommendation, has been authorized by the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor; and yet, from a motive of delicacy which will be justly appreciated by the public, they are not disposed to distribute the shares which have been appropriated, till they shall be provided with the imperial

decree which is to legalize their rights, and which they are daily expecting. The enormous premiums already offered for the shares, have not been able to induce them to depart from this system of prudence and regularity. The directors have definitively settled whatever relates to the personal and material department of their undertaking. Their agents are already upon the spot, and the miners, as well as the machinery and implements necessary for the working of mines of every description, are in a state of readiness; we believe also that the expedition has already left the English shores.

Such are the proceedings of men whose fortune and character accord with the importance of so great an enterprise. We give our readers the names of the directors of the *New Brazilian Company*, persuaded, as we are, that nothing will more effectually conciliate, in their favor, the esteem and confidence of the public.

DIRECTORS.

John Irving, Esq. M. P., Chairman.

The Right Hon. Viscount Louth, M. P., Deputy Chairman.

Richard Hart Davis, M. P.	William Morgan, Esq.
Sir Robert Farquhar, Bart.	Sir Peter Pole, M. P.
M. P.	Sir John Reid
Edward Fletcher, Esq.	Sir George Robinson
Pascoe Grenfell, M. P.	Owen Williams, M. P.
John Innes, M. P.	

AUDITORS.

Sir Francis Desanges, Sir John Lillie.

Note—The abundance of matter prevents our inserting the translation of an excellent article on the same subject in *O Padre Amaro*, a Portuguese journal printed at London, in February last, N^o 50. We recommend this periodical publication to our readers; they will find in it interesting views respecting the question which occupies our attention.

TRADE AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

At the moment when the treaty of commerce, concluded in 1810, between Portugal and England, has just expired, and when the British merchants are expecting with confidence the renewal of this treaty, founded on the principle of the independence of the Brazilian empire, we cannot give to our readers a more correct idea of the advantages attached to this important measure, than by borrowing from the *Times* the following article, which this valuable journal has lately published on this subject :

“The announcement of the new relations about to spring up between Great Britain and Spanish America, has been hailed by the manufacturing and commercial interest of this country with such a burst of satisfaction, that Mr. Canning will of course exert himself to follow up a similar national policy wherever the occasion may offer. Brasil, now irrevocably separated from Portugal, appears to us to furnish both the inducement and the facility for such a train of measures on the part of the British government. The treaty with Portugal of 1810, under which goods from England have been hitherto imported into Brasil, as well as the mother-country, at an *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent., is to expire in February, 1825. We then lose an exclusive privilege, of which the magnitude may be guessed from this fact—that when (on the 25th of April, 1818) a law was passed by the Brazilian government for admitting the merchandize of other foreign nations, the tax on importation was settled at 24 per cent. *ad valorem*, leaving 9 per cent. in favour of Great Britain. But a further

advantage over our commercial rivals has arisen to us from the practical regulations of Brasil. A clause was inserted both in the British treaty of 1810, and in the new Brazilian law of April, 1818, affecting other foreigners, that where the value of a particular article was not fixed by the tariff existing at the time, it should be so by the declaration of the importer. Now, with respect to the French merchants, this provision has not been faithfully observed. In cases not settled by the tariff, the French importers are not suffered to fix the value of their own goods, but are forced to admit the valuation of persons appointed by the government, whose ignorance or design has generally led to a valuation so much above the truth, as to fall with ruinous weight upon the French merchant, and to favor the British at his expense. This spirit proceeds, it is conjectured, from the enmity of the court of France to the new-born independence of South America, and of Brasil as part of it. The French merchants, however, have addressed their sovereign, urging him to obtain for them the necessary relief, stating the expiration of the British commercial treaty—the equal footing on which England will then stand with other foreigners—the general advantages of a commercial intercourse between France and Brasil—the probability of a favorable hearing being obtained for any overtures from the French government to the Emperor, and the manifest expediency of a commercial treaty. The present, then, is the moment for England to act with decision. The Brazilian government cannot be blamed for conceding most to the highest bidder. A struggle may probably take place in the French councils between interest and prejudice—between legitimacy and lucre—to delay, though perhaps not long to obstruct, its decision. No such grounds of hesitation, however, can be apprehended here. If, on the other hand, tenderness towards Portugal should have influenced his majesty to pause a little before he came forward with a public homage to the sovereignty which Brasil has beyond all ques-

tion secured to herself, time enough surely has long since elapsed for England to impress upon the mind of John VI. the salutary conviction that, as king of Portugal, he must bid adieu to Brasil for ever. It is not, therefore, that the principle is one which ought, under any circumstances, to decide the politics of Great Britain; but that the present is the hour at which she has most to dread from failing to act upon it. She is on the point of forfeiting a solid superiority, which must expire with the treaty that produced it; and the commercial question is, will she not pay something to have it speedily and effectually revived?"

We have received from Mr. C. Moreau,—the distinguished economist who has recently enriched the archives of England with a chart showing her trade with all parts of the world, from the year 1697 to 1823,—the following letter, which we consider it our duty to lay before our readers, as the expression of the lively gratitude of this laborious foreigner for the flattering reception which his interesting work has met with from the English nation.

We extremely regret that Mr. C. M. has not published a second edition of his chart which, in our opinion, will find a place in every library and counting-house; but if, as he induces us to hope, he will incorporate its elements in a new work which he intends to publish, the public and himself may depend that we shall attend to it, persuaded as we are that the merit of this work will be equal to that which has already appeared.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN MONITOR.

London, 30th January, No. 21, Soho Square.

"Sir—In acknowledgment for the very favorable reception you were kind enough to bestow on the Chart I recently pub-

lished, of the commerce of Great Britain with all parts of the world, I beg of you to accept a second copy of the work, now rendered complete by the addition of the commercial operations of the year 1823, for which addition I am indebted to the obliging condescension of the Right Honorable the Lords of the Board of Trade.

“ The rapid and nearly entire sale of the copies of my Chart, of which I shall not publish a second edition, it being my intention to incorporate the principal part in a new work now composing by me, induces me to present you with the present copy; and I shall feel happy, Sir, if it be thought worthy of occupying a place in your private library, and thereby be of utility, by diminishing at times your researches. You, Sir, are the intermediate party between the public and authors who submit to their tribunal the fruit of their lucubrations. May I be permitted, under this title, to beg of you to accept my expressions of the warmest gratitude for the unexpected success obtained by my work, and for which success I feel myself particularly indebted to the great indulgence shown me by the English press,

“ I have the honor to be, Sir,

“ your very humble servant,

“ CÆSAR MOREAU, C. S. V. P.”

COMMERCE WITH COLOMBIA.

Bogota, Sept. 18, 1824.

“ Sir,—The prohibitory laws and decrees of Colombia against the importation of certain articles into this country appearing to be imperfectly understood, and some British merchants having recently fallen into a misconception of the one relative to sugar—probably from its not being sufficiently explicit,—I beg to transmit to you a list of the articles prohibited, with the respective penalties attached to the violation of the laws, for the guidance of merchants embarking in the trade of Colombia, and for the purpose of obviating the re-

currence of a misunderstanding, out of which, under the most favorable circumstances, it is difficult for persons to disembarass themselves, without considerable delay and inconvenience.

(Signed) JAMES HENDERSON,

His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General.

John Bennett, Esq., Secretary of Lloyd's.

ARTICLES PROHIBITED.

By law of the congress of Sept. 27, 1821 :—Coffee, cocoa, indigo, * sugars, molasses—under penalty of the confiscation of the vessel and cargo.

By decree of the executive of January 20, 1823 :—All productions and manufactures of Spain, or her dependencies, after being warned off—under penalty of the condemnation of the vessel, and destruction of the cargo.

By law of the congress of July 4, 1823 :—Gunpowder, tobacco, whether in leaf, segars, snuff, or rappee—under penalty of the confiscation of the articles, and the vessel, or the whole or any other part of the cargo, if belonging to the proprietor of the contraband articles.

By law of the congress of August 2, 1823 :—Foreign spirits, extracted from the sugar cane, or their compounds—under penalty of the confiscation of the vessel and spirits.

By law of the congress of July 8, 1824 :—Foreign salt—under penalty of confiscation of the vessel and salt.

COMMERCE WITH BUENOS AYRES.

Buenos Ayres is described to be the most agreeable residence in South America, and inhabited by the most enlightened population. The dictator of Paraguay is complained of as a friend to the non-intercourse system with his neighbours :

* The term "sugar" is here considered to imply the raw material, as well as every denomination of refined sugars.

and, but for that evil (a temporary one no doubt), Buenos Ayres, it is said, would be a market almost unlimited for British manufactures—the probable consumption of Paraguay being guessed at about a million sterling per annum. The British trade to Buenos Ayres is now estimated annually at one million and a half sterling: fifteen thousand pipes of wine and spirits are supplied from France and Spain; and from the North American United States are imported eighty thousand barrels of flour: sugar, cocoa, coffee, &c., come from Brasil; from China, sundries. The general improvement of Buenos Ayres within ten years is described to be almost incredible,—persons returning after that period do not know the place again. From eighty to one hundred square-rigged vessels, averaging two hundred tons burden, are usually within the harbour of Buenos Ayres, thirty of which are English. Expenses there are greater than in London, and the allowance of our Consul-general, 2,000*l.* per annum, is not thought by any means an excessive income—not more than covers the natural expenditure of the office. Nothing but an increase of people is wanted to render the La Plata one of the most delightful countries on earth.

The *Gaceta de Colombia* of the 10th of October announces that on the 3d of that month there had been concluded in Bogota a general treaty of peace, friendship, navigation, and commerce, between the republic of Colombia and the United States. The commissioners were Don Pedro Gual, minister for foreign affairs, on the part of Colombia, and Mr. Anderson, minister plenipotentiary from the United States, on the part of that government.

ENGLAND.

The whole of the duty of excise on wine is repealed. The remaining, or rather the new duty, is a customs duty merely. The necessity, in future, of permits, will, we presume, be done away with. French wine was formerly subject to

an excise duty of 6s. 2½d., and to a customs duty of 5s. 3d., when imported in British, and 5s. 7d. per gallon when imported in foreign ships: in all, a charge of 11s. 5½d. or 11s. 9½d. per gallon. The customs duty, now the only duty on wines, and the drawbacks on re-exportation, will be the following per gallon:—

	Duty.	Drawback.
French imported in British ships . . .	6s. 0d.	6s. 0d.
Ditto . . . in foreign ditto . . .	6s. 6d.	0s. 0d.
Cape	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.

All other wines imported—

In British ships	4s. 0d.	4s. 0d.
In foreign ships	4s. 4d.	0s. 0d.

German, Portuguese, Spanish, Sicilian—every wine, in fact except French, is subject to one duty. Why this distinction between French and other wines is still kept up—why Claret, or Burgundy, or Champagne—still more, why the lighter or poorer wines of France should remain charged with a higher duty than the finest Port or Sherry, Madeira, Hock, or even Tokay—it is difficult to divine. The continuation of the unequal duties keeps alive in the French the prejudice against free trade, which it is our interest as well as theirs to have removed. The new duties on coffee are as follows—they, too, are entirely customs duties:—

Coffee from our colonies in the West In-

dies, or in the west of Africa 6s. 6d. per lb.

From within the limits of the East India

Company's charter 0s. 9d. do

From other places 1s. 3d. do

The former duties were double, and were excise duties.

FINANCES.

REVENUE OF THE BRASILIAN EMPIRE.

The revenue of the empire is estimated at nearly 3,000,000*l.* sterling; in the year 1824, it is estimated at 95,000,000 of francs, or nearly 4,000,000*l.* sterling. The vast extent of lands belonging to the nation permits Brasil, by their sale, to redeem its debt without imposing burdens on the people.*

REVENUE OF THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL.

A Portuguese Journal published in London, entitled "*The Popular*," presents an "Abstract of the financial state of Portugal;" from which it appears, that the income is 1,687,500*l.* sterling; the expenditure, 4,006,200*l.*; consequently, the deficit is 2,318,750*l.*—If this be correct (and minute data are given by the Portuguese journalist) here is a pleasant prospect for the holders of the "*securities*" of his Most Faithful Majesty!

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

The stock of the bank of the United States has been steadily advancing for some time past, until it has attained a

* See American Monitor N.^o 2. page 274---statement of the progressive increase of the public revenue of the empire of Brasil from 1808 to 1820.

point of appreciation not only much above what it has been at any previous period since its great depression, at the close of the first administration of the institution, but which looks like an approximation (though from different causes) towards the inflated value which speculation attached to it during the first years of its existence. Large sales have been made at New York, as high as $22\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. above par, and that is the price at which the stock is last quoted in most of the eastern cities. This advance is not the effect of reckless speculation, of the prosperous condition of the institution, the abundance of capital in the commercial cities, and the increased confidence of monied men in the bank, as a safe and profitable institution for the investment of surplus capital. The large loan lately effected by the bank to the government for the payment of the Spanish claimants, and the probability of others which it is known the government contemplates negotiating, in the reduction of the public debt, have doubtless had considerable influence in raising the stock of the bank to its present price; and these causes combined may carry it even much higher.



Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain in the Years and Quarters ended the 5th January, 1824, and the 5th of January 1825, showing the Increase or Decrease on each head thereof.

Years ended Jan. 5.				
	1824.	1825.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
Customs.....	10,406,430	10,239,739	.....	166,691
Excise.....	23,956,467	23,113,283	1,156,816	.....
Stamps.....	6,362,620	6,753,096	390,476	.....
Post Office.....	1,387,000	1,444,000	57,000	.....
Taxes.....	6,188,877	4,922,070	.....	1,266,807
Miscellaneous.....	410,340	340,571	.....	69,769
Repayment by Austria	766,667	1,733,333	966,666	.....
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	49,478,401	50,546,092	2,570,958	1,503,267
Deduct Decrease.....			1,503,267	
			<hr/>	
Increase on the Year.....			1,067,691	
Quarters ended Jan. 5..				
	1824.	1825.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Customs.....	2,853,345	2,814,841	.....	38,504
Excise.....	5,847,132	6,640,563	793,431	.....
Stamps.....	1,556,810	1,636,032	79,222	.....
Post Office.....	361,000	366,000	5,000	.....
Taxes.....	1,946,084	1,988,048	41,964	.....
Miscellaneous.....	94,017	125,571	31,554	.....
Repayment by Austria	766,667	.....	.....	766,667
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13,425,055	13,571,055	951,171	805,171
Deduct Decrease.....			805,171	
			<hr/>	
Increase on the Quarter.....			146,000	

SCIENCE.

Considerations on the Origin, and the Causes of the Yellow Fever, according to Observations made on this Disease at Barcelona, in 1821, and at the Port du Passage, in 1823, by Mr. Audouard, Physician to the Military Hospitals of Paris.

This is a scientific production, by no means confined to the learned. It treats a question of medicine, involving, at the same time, a profound and very interesting question of morals and humanity. If the discovery of Dr. Audouard is in reality what it appears to be, it will prove an emanation of light sent by providence to dispel the darkness of those who have hitherto been blinded by a sordid and unfeeling interest, or at least to compel policy to act in unison with the dictates of philanthropy.

Is not the slave trade one of the principal causes of the yellow fever? Convincing experiments and an investigation founded in numerous and well attested facts, have induced the author of the work before us to decide in the affirmative. The commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences has admitted the novelty and importance of this question, and expressed a desire that the work of Dr. Audouard should receive a publicity calculated to attract the attention of the faculty, and of all who interest themselves in the subject.

This production, which from the simplicity and

perspicuity of its style, is adapted to all classes of readers, has, consequently, been published. The author, who has seen by himself the things of which he speaks, assumes the character of historian as often as that of judge; hence, the public also can form an accurate opinion concerning facts of which they may in some degree be considered witnesses. By a fatality that cannot be too much lamented, the very obstacles opposed to this infamous traffic, have multiplied the seeds of a pestilential disease. The unhappy blacks, closely crowded, buried in their floating dungeons, poisoned by a foetid air, to the complete corruption of which they themselves contribute, deeply impregnate the ship with a cadaverous infection, which combining itself with the heat, the damp, and many other malignant principles, becomes converted within the harbours into mortal and contagious gases.

The particular species of yellow fever alluded to, is described by M. Audouard under the name of *nautical typhus*. This disease, arising from the close compression of men in that part of the ships where the air is renewed with most difficulty, assumes a more serious character, when these men perspire profusely, as negroes generally do, particularly when they are treated with all the disdain that is excited by the most disgusting animals. Then it acquires the energy of the most virulent poison; it escapes from the centre to which it was confined, and strikes with the rapidity of lightning, the unfortunate wretches with whom it comes in contact, and who themselves become new centres of pestilential miasmata. We refer to the work itself those persons who wish to follow the

development, the proofs, the inductions by which the author establishes the character and effects of the *nautical typhus*. It is sufficient that we have pointed out to the learned, to the philosopher, to the statesman, this new and valuable discovery in science. In conclusion, we adopt the words of Dr. Audouard, "abolish the slave trade and the yellow fever will cease to exist. Such is the two-fold benefit humanity expects from the philanthropy of the age in which we are living; Africa claims it from Europe, kings from kings, nations from nations, man from man." We trust that the useful researches of the author will not terminate in a vain dream or fruitless expectations.



LITERARY NOTICE.

Biographie. Nouvelle des Contemporains, par MM. Arnaut, Jay, Jouy et de Norvins.

We regret that the great political interests to which our work is particularly devoted will not, at present, allow us to notice some of the new publications before us, and which prove that the political movements of society, instead of impeding, seem rather to have accelerated the progress of the human mind. We see with pleasure, that a taste for literature in connection with the love of sound social principles, is beginning to diffuse itself throughout America. This is a proof that the moral faculties of the inhabitants of the New World, which seemed stifled in the atmosphere of despotism, required nothing more for their development, than the pure and vivifying air of freedom and independence.

In a curious and miscellaneous catalogue sent to us by Messrs. Le Clerc and Co. booksellers, * we have observed several works of great interest written in America, or concerning America, an account of which we shall give in one of our succeeding Numbers, and which we recommend to every one desirous of familiarizing himself with the literary productions of Portuguese and Spanish writers, whether of the Old or of the New World.

* 76, Regent Quadrant, London.

The pages of our Magazine are not, nor ever will be indiscriminately open to those ephemeral and frivolous productions erroneously assigned to the department of literature. We consider neither idyls nor fables worthy the attention of our readers. We require, both for them and ourselves, a vigorous, serious, and useful literature, associating with it extensive views, and the true interests of humanity. Of all the departments of literature, history seems to be the most deeply affecting the happiness of mankind. History is now no longer confined to a few privileged families. Even the history of a particular country or nation must not be so in a local sense ; for at the present period, all countries, all nations, thanks to three great combined powers well deserving the name of Holy Alliance, are, at every moment, in contact with each other. Commerce, printing, and even gun-powder, although by different means, unitedly contribute to the progress of civilization. Thus, at the present period, every thing is known, every thing is transmitted in a moment from one extremity of the world to another, from Mexico to Kamtschatka, from London to Petersburg, from New York to Calcutta, from Paris to Lisbon. All nations converse with and understand each other. There is but one common motto given and received, even in the presence of the Holy Alliance. Such was the toast given by an English minister, on his accession to office in 1822: "Civil, political, and religious liberty for all the earth," i. e. legal order substituted for arbitrary order.

Justice, morality, and humanity are the duties of every historian who values self-respect. Such are the duties faithfully fulfilled by the authors of the *Bio-*

graphie-Nouvelle des Contemporains ; the most extensive and complete work of the kind ever conceived and executed. It comprehends all the characters pre-eminently illustrious for their genius, their influence, and their elevation of rank in society, who have appeared since 1789, and who still appear upon the theatre of the world, from Mr. Neckar to Mr. Canning, from Buonaparte to Bolivar. Men distinguished in the sciences, the arts and letters, have also a place in this work. To these is added an immense gallery of cotemporary portraits combining fidelity of design with vigor of colouring. It is replete not only with curious, but also with authentic facts, and such as our readers will acknowledge, have a just claim to novelty. We will quote only one example. To this day doubts have been entertained respecting Napoleon's intended suicide at the time of his first abdication at Fontainebleau. Now, those doubts, cannot exist any longer. The circumstances of the fact are thus described in the *Biographie*, and must have been related by an eye-witness:

“ The 11th of April, 1814, Napoleon passed some portion of the evening with the duke de Vicence and retired at 11 o'clock.

“ The most profound silence prevailed in the palace of Fontainebleau ; it is probable that no one was asleep, and yet this vast edifice seemed in a state of quiet, resembling that which succeeds some violent agitation. No noise was heard, except the voice of the centinels placed over the captive of Europe, or the distant echo of the *qui vive*, which, repeated in the varied tones of the watchful guards, and in the different languages of Europe and Asia, passed in uninterrupted succession through the French ranks. In the midst

of the silence which reigned in the palace, the majestic tranquillity of which had been once disturbed by the sanguinary vengeance of a northern queen, and so often by the splendid festivities of our last kings; Napoleon, who was awake, ordered, at one o'clock, the attendance of the duke de Vicence.

"When the minister entered, Napoleon was placing an empty cup upon the table.

"Napoleon desired him to take from the closet the portfolio containing the portrait and letters of the empress: "Keep them," said Napoleon.....He then gave him some other orders and made him a present of his portrait in cameo; but whilst in the act of speaking, he was interrupted by a sudden indisposition, which alarmed the duke de Vicence. A veil seemed to spread itself over the eyes of Napoleon, who called upon death to release him from sufferings so dreadful to himself and terrifying to the person who witnessed them. Sometimes, he appeared to sink into a torpor, from which he would never recover; to this succeeded a cold perspiration, followed by a sudden and violent convulsion which stiffened all his joints and produced repeated vomiting. Napoleon, during this painful crisis, firmly grasped the duke de Vicence, to prevent his leaving him, repeatedly saying to him, that, if he were his friend he would not oppose his self-destruction, which he could have no reason for wishing to be witnessed by any other person.

"The struggle between life and death lasted near three quarters of an hour; at length, relieved by abundant vomiting, he exclaimed, "*c'en est fait; la mort ne veut pas de moi.*" He then permitted the duke de Vicence to call a valet de chambre: a surgeon was also sent for. Mr. Yvan arrived, and Napoleon, with earnest intreaty, even in a tone of authority, desired him to give him a draught. Mr. Yvan, terrified by this strange request, left the room, descended the stairs, mounted his horse, and quitted Fontaine-

bleau. The duke de Vicence informed the great Marshal Bertrand, and the Count de Turenne, master of the wardrobe, who immediately entered the apartment.

“ For two days, Napoleon had exerted every effort to induce his attendants to bring him coals, intending to suffocate himself in the bath. Not having obtained what he wished, he had prepared his pistols ; but his Mameluke and his valet de chambre, suspecting his design, had taken out the priming and the powder.

“ The crisis was so violent, that Napoleon could not rise before eleven o'clock, to send off Marshall Macdonald ; he endeavoured to rise sooner, but in vain ; his legs could not support him, his face was distorted, his eyes sunk in their sockets, his complexion livid, his limbs bruised ; but the strength of his extraordinary constitution triumphing over death, his mind and character resumed their superiority over his misfortunes.....

“ The poison Napoleon had taken was invented by Cabanis, during the terrors of the revolution, as the last resource of himself and his friends. Napoleon had constantly carried it about him, since his departure from Moscow, probably from his apprehension of falling alive into the hands of the Emperor of Russia. Little did he then imagine that the adoption of so desperate a measure was reserved for the period when he should become a prisoner in his own palace of Fontainebleau, and after having thrice refused proposals of peace from him whom he went to attack eight hundred leagues from his own capital.—Fate permitted not the fugitive from Moscow to avenge by poison the defeat of the conquered master of Fontainebleau.—”

This quotation is a sufficient specimen of the interesting character of the *Nouvelle Biographie*, and

of the talent of its distinguished author. We wish we could introduce here many other extracts, bearing the stamp of the same superiority, and from which history cannot fail to derive valuable and authentic information. We shall again notice from time to time this important work, which, in our opinion, has every claim to excellence, both as to its impartiality and execution.



MISCELLANIES.

A COMPARISON DRAWN BETWEEN THE TURKS AND SPANIARDS.

“ The Spaniards are the Moslems of Western Europe. They have lost their place in the scale of nations, and sunk into semi-barbarism from the same causes—the paramount influence of superstition and despotism. Like the Turks, they exhibit in their government a most ludicrous combination of magnificent pretension and deplorable imbecility ; and in their national character, the same pride, ignorance, intractableness and fanaticism. Like the Turks, too, they inherit a splendid empire, which is in a state of utter dilapidation. The colonies of the one, like the subject nations of the other, having made the discovery that their governors are weak, stupid, and tyrannical, cannot by any human means be kept in subjection to rulers they despise. We may add, to complete the parallel, that the two courts are composed of very similar materials. The monk and the mufti, the white page and the black eunuch, are counsellors of the same order ; and were it possible for the bearded brother of the sun and the moon to transfer himself to Madrid, and make a small change in his creed, he would scarcely be able to perceive any alteration in the spirit or the mechanism of his government. As for Ferdinand, it would be doing injustice to the Turks to suppose that they would endure him for a single year. Spain and Turkey seem, in fact, to have been placed at the two extremities of Europe, to serve as monuments to other nations, of the degrading and barbarising effects of superstition and despotism.”—*The Scotsman*.

“ A bill has been twice read *nem.con.* in the American senate, granting to General La Fayette the sum of 200,000 dollars, and an entire township of land, in recompense of his signal services to the republic in the revolutionary war. This donation reflects the highest honor on the national feeling of the United States ; and even the length of time that has elapsed since the period of the general's services to America, carries with it a reflection peculiarly gratifying to him ; namely, that he has maintained, during a long life, so high a character for consistency and public virtue, that the gratitude and affection of a great nation of freemen are as warm towards him as ever. The *Courier* affects to sneer at the lateness of the reward, and asks, what would have been done for the general, had he remained quietly in Europe. This is pitiful work. The hireling is not ignorant, that the United States are but just emerging from the financial embarrassments occasioned by two struggles against the injustice of the British government ; that the republic would neither have been warranted in offering, nor could La Fayette have honorably accepted, a grant of money which would have pressed upon the shattered finances of the givers. The pretence, that the people of the United States would have forgotten their obligations to the illustrious Frenchman, is triumphantly disproved by the enthusiastic reception he has met with among them ; yet it is quite natural, that his presence has called forth their affectionate feelings in a greater degree, and produced this last practical proof of their esteem more promptly, than would have been the case, had he continued to reside in another hemisphere.”—*The Examiner*.

GREECE.

A SUMMARY OF THE BRILLIANT CAMPAIGN OF THIS YEAR.

Seven battles have taken place, and the Greek fleet, con-

stantly triumphant, has occasioned the enemy the following losses:

At the re-capture of the Island of Ipsara, were taken and sunk, sloops.....	24
At the battle between Samos and Ephesus, taken, burned, and sunk, vessels destined to effect the landing of troops on the Island of Samos.....	30
At the battle near Cos, a frigate and a brig were burned, together.....	2
At the battle near Icaria, which was one of the most obstinately contested, a corvette and two brigs were run aground and sunk, near the Island of Axia, together..	3
At the battle between Samos and Geronta, a frigate, a corvette, and a brig were burned, together.....	3
At the battle between Chio and Caraburna were burned a corvette and a brig, together	2

Total, Ships..... 64

The number of Turks who have perished or been taken prisoners in these different engagements amount to ten thousand. There are also prisoners on board of Greek vessels several persons of distinction. The naval victories of the Greeks are surprising; but the protector of their sacred cause is great. Their affairs proceed very favourably; they are organizing regular troops and corps of artillery; they intend soon to turn their attention to the formation of a body of cavalry; they have troops enough at their disposition, and it is certain that their progress will be rapid, and that their independence is established.

Some official documents are published in the New York papers, relative to the acknowledgment of the independence of the late colonies of Spain by the United States, but which possess no peculiar interest. They exhibit the same insolent

pretension and disregard of truth on the part of Spain, which have distinguished most of the articles on that subject in the *Madrid Gazette*. The American reply to the remonstrance is couched in terms of great moderation. It appears from one of these documents, that a request had been made by England to Spain, for permission to land troops in Cuba, to pursue the pirates, if necessary, which has been refused, as well as a similar application from the government of the United States.

Sir Charles Stuart has been, for some days, in daily attendance at the foreign office, and his interviews with Mr. Planta have been most frequent during the absence of Mr. Canning. We understand the visit paid to his Majesty, by especial command, at the cottage, at Windsor, was for the express purpose of communicating to the ex-ambassador at the court of France, the royal pleasure that he should undertake the secret mission to the king of Portugal, and afterwards proceed to Brasil.

We observe from the French papers of Friday, that, in the chamber of deputies, the speakers of both sides on the law of indemnity, spoke in a very apprehensive tone respecting the continuance of peace. Mr. Agier, an ultra royalist, observes :

“ An article, gentlemen, deserving of your utmost attention, is that which fixes the duration of the operation ; and I own that five years appear very long to me under present circumstances “ May not the movements of the New World, a second time influence Europe and even ourselves ? ”

General Thiers, a Liberal, spoke in a still more decided manner : “ Examine,” says he, “ under what circumstances they dare propose to you to add a milliard to the already frightful mass of the public debt. See what is passing around us : two great powers divide the

world; one wishes to engross its commerce, the other frightens civilized nations with its savage masses. These two rival powers are observing each other: the combat is about to begin, and the world entertains hope (strong sensations), but what do I say? has not this grand struggle already commenced? has not England chosen her positions? is not the recognition of the blockade of Patras in defiance of Austria? Ought not the recognition of the republic of South America to be considered as a direct attack against the Holy Alliance? has not England already selected her *point d'appui* against the continent? and another event, which is preparing, will it not give her the same advantage in the Peninsula?" (Movement of surprise).

"Coupling the allusions with the bickerings at Vienna, the approaching congress at Paris, and the augmentation of our own army on a much more extensive scale than has been avowed (our statements on this subject have not been contradicted), we think we are not going too far when we say that there is, at all events, no ground for calculating confidently on the continuance of peace. It is true the Holy Alliance cannot directly attack us; but it will of course depend much on the nature of their operations on the continent whether we shall remain altogether passive."—*Morning Paper*.

A bill is before the senate for authorizing congress to make a good road, protected in a proper manner, between the state of Missouri and New Mexico, for the convenience of the trade with the latter country by land, which is represented to be very considerable. A survey has actually commenced, preparatory to an undertaking to unite by a canal the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, set on foot by some individuals in New York. The route chosen is that by the river St. Juan and the lake of Nicaragua. The election of president of the United States was to take place on the 9th ult., at Washing-

ton. A report was in circulation that Mr. Clay intended to throw his influence into the interest of Mr. Adams, by which the latter would gain the votes of several states.

Official documents were published towards the end of October, with a prefatory address from the President Boyer, in which the inflexible resolution of resisting all attempts upon the independence of Hayti is very strongly expressed. He states that the most pressing instances were repeatedly made to him by the French government to send commissioners to negotiate ; that the first mission that he despatched was frustrated by chicane on the part of the French ministry ; and that the last miscarried "by an incomprehensible fatality which always diverts the French cabinet from that adjustment which it appears always so desirous to effect ; by a tergiversation, which does not allow it, at the moment of concluding, to sanction propositions already admitted ; or which causes it to renew pretensions which it had abandoned." The scheme of the French government appears to have been one of espionage and delusion.

The expedition which the Portuguese government had so long announced against Brasil has terminated as we predicted. The minister for the marine department has given orders for disarming all the ships of war, of which it was to be composed, except two frigates, two corvettes, and two brigs, which are continued as guard ships on the coast, and which are cruising in the Mediterranean.

At an entertainment which took place, some time after the victory of Junin, the President Bolivar drank a toast to the army of Peru, to the patriots confined in Lima, and to the triumph of liberty ; he then added : " May the swords of the

brave men who surround me, pierce my bosom a thousand times, if I ever oppress the nations whose deliverance we are now accomplishing. May the authority of the people be the only power on the earth; and may the word *tyranny* be erased from the language of nations !”

When the house of Braganza ascended the throne of Portugal, it signed the formula of an oath, all the copies of which were destroyed by the succeeding monarchs. One of the Portuguese ex-ministers, now in London, has nevertheless discovered a Dutch copy in the British Museum ; which shall be translated and rendered public. The Spanish and Portuguese refugees attach much importance to this document.

The entertainment which the members of the two chambers of the congress gave to General La Fayette, took place on the 1st of January. Mr. Gaillard, president of the senate, had been nominated to preside at the entertainment. On his right, was the president of the United States, and on his left, General La Fayette, the guest of the nation, with several American generals.

Among the persons invited, were M. George Washington La Fayette, and General Bennard.

The health of General La Fayette having been drank, he rose and replied in these terms :—

“ Gentlemen, members of the two chambers, I cannot find words to express the gratitude and respect, with which the distinction of which I am the object inspires me. I hope you will render justice to the ardent sentiments of an American heart, and I request permission to give the following toast :—

“ To the perpetual union of the United States ! it has saved us in moments of danger ; it will save the world.”

In the evening, Mr. Clay gave the following toast :—

“ General Bolivar, the Washington of South America, and of the Colombian republic.”

In one of the last sessions of the congress of the United States, the bill relative to the indemnities claimed by the inhabitants of Niagara, gave place to a warm discussion, in which England was accused of having, during the last war, violated all the existing laws. An allusion was made to the cruelties of Hampton and Havre de Grace, to the barbarities exercised there, to the massacre of the Americans, &c. &c. A member said, that England, and not the American government, ought to give the required indemnities. This point is not yet adjusted.

It is said the new Spanish ambassador, M. Los Rios, declared, that the measure adopted by the English government was premature, because at that very time, negotiations were carrying on with South America, for the purpose of putting an end to all differences, and that the colonies ought to be declared independent of Spain, *if they would consent to be governed by Spanish viceroys.*

Risum teneatis, amici!

Some hireling journalists of the continent, at a loss to know how any longer to retain their honorable salaries, pretend that England not only set a bad example, by encouraging rebellion, but that she violated the express stipulation of treaties; and they refer, on this subject, to the 3d article of the treaty of peace, of amity and alliance, signed, at London, the 14th January 1809, between Mr. Canning and Admiral Opadoir. This article is thus stated,—

“His Britannic Majesty engages to continue to assist, as much as he can, the Spanish nation in the struggle between the tyranny and usurpation of France; he promises to acknowledge no other king of Spain and the Indies than his Christian Majesty, Ferdinand VII., his heirs, or the *legitimate successors which the Spanish nation may recognize*; and the Spanish government engages, in the name of his Christian

Majesty Ferdinand VII. never to cede to France, in any case, any part of the territories or possessions of the Spanish monarchy, in any part of the world whatever."

But it appears to us that, to the present moment, England has completely confined itself within the terms of this treaty ; for she has not abandoned Spain in the struggle against the tyranny of Bonaparte ; and, as to the Indies, we do not see that she has acknowledged any other King than Ferdinand VII., for the treaties into which she has just entered, have been formed with republics.

When the English ambassador, Sir W. A'Court, took leave of the Spanish king, the royal family was at Ildefonse ; as there was not a convenient hotel in the town, the ambassador requested of the minister of state a lodging for the night, which of course he could not refuse him ; but the public building, destined at all times for this use, being now in a state of ruin, the person whose office it was to provide the ambassador with lodging, sent instantly a complete set of furniture into the nearest house. Sir William passed the night there, and departed the next day, without suspecting that he had slept in a prison ; for his hotel was in fact a prison, in which there had been no prisoners confined for some time. It was not till some days after, that this circumstance was known in Madrid, where it became a subject of mirth to the diplomatic corps. It is also pretended that this was not a mere mistake ; but that the king, stimulated by an inveterate hatred against Sir W. A'Court, designedly made him pass a night in prison.

POSTSCRIPT.

This Number of the American Monitor was almost entirely printed when the news of the last triumph of Bolivar reached us. This happy event, however much a subject of joy, excited in us no feeling of surprise, for it was one which we had long foretold and which indeed it was not difficult to anticipate. In our next Number we shall be enabled to offer our readers an accurate detail, written on the spot, of this memorable battle which has at length put a termination to the long struggle that not long ago, held in suspense the destiny of the New World. At present, we confine ourselves to the statement of its results. Generals, armies, Spanish flags, all in this glorious day fell into the hands of Bolivar, all passed under the yoke. The last hour of the Spanish domination is arrived, and of the numerous kingdoms and provinces which, during three centuries, this monarchy possessed in America, it has now nothing left except a mere dungeon; the castle of St. Sien d'Ulloa. Yet will this tremendous blow be sufficient to crush the hopes of conquest with which Spain appears still to deceive herself? We think not, if we may judge by the ridiculous efforts that, in the last stage of her decline, she is still exerting to collect in some of her ports a new armament against America.

It is said, but without sufficient foundation to obtain credit, that a revolution has taken place in Cuba;

that this island has declared itself independent of Spain, and joined the Mexican federation. Such an event will, no doubt, be very soon the necessary consequence of the present state of America ; but we consider the report premature.

The election of Mr. John Quincy Adams to the presidency of the United States, has been declared by a majority of thirteen against twelve.

We cannot but be satisfied with this result, for Mr. Adams will, no doubt, administer the affairs of the republic, with the same justice and moderation as his predecessors. General Jackson, his most powerful rival, is, unquestionably, a statesman distinguished for his patriotism and firmness of character ; but these qualities alone are not sufficient to fill the station of president of the United States.

In our next Number, we shall communicate to our readers all the circumstances relative to the election of the new president, concerning whom we shall also publish an historical notice.

Letters received by way of Carthagena, communicate the painful intelligence of the death of Mr. Rowcroft, the English consul-general for Peru. This gentleman had rode out to Callao, which was then in the possession of the royalists, on the morning of the 6th of December, and in returning to Lima in the evening, was hailed by the advanced guard of the independent army, then on duty, but not replying with sufficient promptitude, the sentinel fired, and mortally wounded him. He was carried into Lima, and expired on the following day, only a few days

before the entry of Bolivar into that city. The illustrious president testified the utmost concern at this unfortunate event, and is said himself to have paid a visit of condolence to Miss Rowcroft, who was in the carriage only a few paces from her father when the fatal event occurred. Various explanations are afforded in the private letters respecting this catastrophe, but all concur in representing it as the effect of accident. Mr. Rowcroft is said to have been in the habit of travelling about in a military uniform, a dress which, no doubt, procured him greater attention and respect. This circumstance, however, particularly exposed him on this occasion, and the royalists being in some force so near as Callao, the orders to the sentinels on duty were of course extremely strict and rigorous; and as the consul did not, unfortunately, answer their challenge, they had no alternative but to fire upon him. A vice-consul went out with Mr. Rowcroft, who will assume, *pro tempore*, the functions of his principal.



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SHARE LIST AND AMERICAN FUNDS.

March 30th, 1825.

In the share market there is little variation; the holders do not appear alarmed at the speech of the Lord Chancellor, of which we shall give an account in our next number, and his determination to keep all the subscribers to the new companies out of the law courts of England appears to have rather a favourable effect. Anglo Mexican are 100 to 105. Pasco Peruvian $18\frac{1}{2}$ to $19\frac{1}{2}$. Brazilian 12 to 13. Colombian 34 to 36. The new Pearl and Coral Company 25 to 27.

The sudden rumour of a revolution in Mexico, absurd as it is, has had the effect of lowering the scrip of the Mexican loan to par. We have authority to contradict that wild rumour. There is not one word of truth in this report.

SHARE LIST.

	Share.	Paid.	Price per Share.
Anglo Mexican.....	100	15	100
Anglo Chilian.....	100	5	$11\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{2} \frac{3}{4}$
Brazilian.....	100	6	$22\frac{1}{2}$ 21
Chilian and Peruvian.....	—	5	$13\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$
Gen. Min. Association.....	100	5	15
Pasco Peruvian.....	100	5	24 $23\frac{1}{2}$ $24\frac{1}{2}$ 24
Peruvian	100	5	$7\frac{1}{2}$ $8\frac{1}{2}$ 8
Royal Irish.....	—11.	11s. 3d.	$\frac{3}{8} \frac{1}{2}$ dis.
Rio de la Plata.....	100	5	$25\frac{1}{2}$ 27
Tlalpuxahua....400l.....	400	20	210
United Mexican	40	20	45
Welch Iron and Coal	25	5	$7\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$

PRICES OF SOUTH AMERICAN STOCKS IN LONDON.

Brazilian Scrip, 1825, $17\frac{3}{8} \frac{3}{4}$ pr.	Mexican Bonds, 80 $79\frac{3}{4}$
Buenos Ayres Bonds, $90\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto for Acc. $80\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{4}$
Chilian Bonds, 90	Ditto Scrip, 1825, $\frac{7}{8} \frac{5}{8}$ pr.
Colombian Bonds, 91 $90\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto for Acc. $\frac{3}{4}$ pr.
Do. Bonds, 1824, $89\frac{3}{4} \frac{2}{8} \frac{1}{2} \frac{3}{4}$	Peruvian Bonds, $87\frac{1}{2}$ $6\frac{3}{4}$ 7
Ditto for Acc. $90\frac{1}{4}$	

